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A

NARRATIVE

BY

JOHN ASHBURNHAM

OF HIS

ATTENDANCE ON KING CHARLES THE FIRST

FROM OXFORD TO THE SCOTCH ARMY,

AND

FROM HAMPTON-COURT TO THE ISLE OF WIGHT:

NEVER BEFORE PRINTED.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED

A VINDICATION

OF

HIS CHARACTER AND CONDUCT,

FROM THE

MISREPRESENTATIONS OF LORD CLARENDON,

BY HIS LINEAL DESCENDANT AND PRESENT REPRESENTATIVE.

"Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor."

VOL. II.

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BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES.

John Ashburnham, whose Narrative is now for the first time made publick, was the eldest son of sir John Ashburnham, by his marriage with Elizabeth, daughter of sir Thomas Beaumont; and was born in the year 1603.

To relate the little, which is known of his private life, would neither gratify curiosity, nor excite interest. The following Notices will therefore be confined to such few facts and dates, as may in some sort connect his personal biography with the general history of the times, in which he lived.

In 1628, Ashburnham was first appointed a groom of the bedchamber to king Charles the first. This is discovered in the third volume of "Original Letters illustrative of English History," edited by Mr. Ellis, now most worthily the principal librarian to the British Museum.

In a letter of Joseph Mead's dated Nov. 1st, 1628, it is mentioned that "young Ashburnham "the duke's nephew is sworn into the place of sir

"Ralph Clare." The duke of Buckingham is here meant, who had been assassinated on the 23d of August. But the calling Ashburnham the duke's nephew* is a mistake. He was however, though less nearly, related to the duke; whose mother was, also, of the above-mentioned most antient and distinguished family of the Beaumonts of Leicestershire.

But it appears from other documents that Ashburnham must for some time previous have been well known to the king: because a letter of his majesty's to the duke, when engaged in the disastrous expedition to the Isle de Rhé, dated October 1627, commences with—"I have received your "letter by *Jack* Ashburnham." And another—"Since I have understood by Jack Ashburnham."† This already established familiarity accords well with the noble Historian's character of the king, "that he saw and observed men long before he "received them about his person."

In 1640 he was returned for Hastings: and in the earlier sessions of the "long parliament" seems to have been no inactive member: his name frequently occurring as on committees, and sometimes as a teller on divisions. There is no trace of his ever having spoken. That he was however an able reporter of speeches, we have the authority of lord Clarendon. For surely, when we are told, that the peculiar excellence of sir John Colepepper was, that "being of an universal "understanding, a quick comprehension, and a "wonderful memory, he commonly spoke at the "end of a debate: when he would recollect all, "that had been said of weight on all sides with "great exactness, and express his own sense with "much clearness; and such an application to the "house, that no man more gathered a general "concurrence to his opinion, than he." And when we are further told that "his greatest advantage "was, that he had an entire confidence and friend-"ship with Mr. John Ashburnham; who, being a "member of the house, was always ready to report "the service, he did his majesty there, as advan-"tageously, as the business would bear," a decisive proof is given of no mean talent. "Chi non "sa far bene da se, non potrà mai servirsi bene "delle cose d' altri;"—is a recorded saying of the great Michael Angelo. In Shakspeare's opinion,

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* Lord Clarendon says, that Ashburnham had been servant to the duke; but without specifying whether in, or out, of livery. Contin. of Life, vol. ii. p. 224.

† These letters are in the Harleian collection, and have been published in the late earl of Hardwick's State Papers.

Hist. vol. ii. p. 94.

Life, vol. i. p. 108.

> A jest's prosperity lies in the ear
> Of him, that hears it; never in the tongue
> Of him, that makes it.

And it is clear, that, to the same cause, lord Clarendon mainly attributes the prosperity of sir John Colepepper, as well as that of his speeches.

In 1642 (Commons' Journals, April 18th) he was summoned to attend the business of the house, and (May 6th) it was ordered that he be proceeded against for contempt. On which the king wrote a letter to the Commons.

In 1643 (5th February.) " Discharged and dis-
" abled from being any longer a member of that
" house, for being in the king's quarters, and
" adhering to that party."

14th September. It was " ordered, that his
" estate be forthwith sequestered."

In 1644 he was appointed one of the commissioners at the treaty of Uxbridge.

In 1645, one of four commissioners, with the duke of Richmond, earl of Southampton and Geffry Palmer, proposed to be sent by the king with propositions to the parliament, " which his
" majesty is confident will be the foundation of a
" happy and well grounded peace." (Lords' Journals, December 8th.)

Named among those to whom the king is willing to commit the great trust of the militia. (Lords' Journals, December 29.)

In 1646, March 2d. Employed by the king in an application to sir Henry Vane the younger. The letters are given in sir Edward Nicholas's papers, edited by Mr. Bray: as they had before been by Dr. Birch in his preface to Hammond's letters.

April 26th, a commissioner with the earls of Southampton and Lindsay and sir W. Fleetwood, to treat for the surrender of Woodstock house to the parliament. (Whitelock's Memorials, p. 202.)

April 27th. Left Oxford in attendance on the king to the Scots' army at Newark.

May 6th. "Ordered to be sent up as a delin- "quent for attending the king to the Scots' army. (Commons' Journals.)

May 16th. Escaped from Newcastle. (See Dr. Hudson's examination before the deputy mayor and others, justices of the peace. Peck's Desiderata Curiosa.)

1647. June or July. Returned to the king.

November 11th. Attended the king in his escape from Hampton Court.

November 15th. "Ordered to be seized as a "delinquent by the serjeant at arms."

1648. January 1st. Dismissed from serving the king at the Isle of Wight. (Whitelock and Rushworth.)

May 19th. Seized and committed to Windsor Castle. (Commons' Journals.)

August 17th. Exchanged for sir W. Massam.

August 30th. Denied liberty to attend at the treaty of Newport.

October 13th. The king was desired by the parliament's commissioners, to grant his royal assent to an act declaring certain delinquents, who shall expect no pardon. Among these John Ashburnham, Esq. has the honour to be included. (Commons' Journals.)

After reading over the list of the commissioners at Uxbridge, it is not possible to suppose, that the name of Ashburnham should be found in it, if he had not in some degree been honoured with the good opinion, and even the consideration, of the most respectable among his contemporaries in point of rank, talent and merit: or that those, who were ministers of state, especially the inflexible sir Edward Hyde, should so obsequiously have complied with royal weakness, infatuation, and caprice, as not to have remonstrated, and protested against the humiliating admission, as their colleague, of a worthless favorite.

A similar observation may be not less fairly made, on the occurrence of the same name among those of the persons of highest note, in the two houses of parliament, as well as in the king's council of state, to whom "his majesty declared "himself willing to commit the great trust of the

" militia"—" supposing, that these are persons, " against whom no just exception can be taken."

The well authenticated facts,—1st, of the order for his apprehension; 2nd, that of his being driven from the king's service; 3rd, of his commitment a prisoner to Windsor Castle; 4th, of the reluctance to exchange him; and 5th, of his being the only one of all those (46 in number) named by the king to attend him at the treaty of Newport, to whom permission was refused, have already been opposed to lord Clarendon's assertion, as unqualified, as unauthorized, that Ashburnham " was not " afterwards called in question for being instru- " mental in the king's going away from Hampton " Court." To these may now be added, 6thly, that of his being named in the act, to which the king's assent was then desired, declaring who were " the delinquents, who shall expect no " pardon."

1660. At the restoration of king Charles the second to the throne, Ashburnham was restored to that place in the royal bedchamber, which he had held during the last twenty years of the preceding reign. A sufficient proof, that the son, " satisfied that there had been no treasonable " contrivance" had adopted the conviction of the father, " who" (as lord Clarendon further says) " was known to have had to the last a clear

“ opinion of his affection and integrity.” And this proof is in the estimation of his descendant the more valuable and gratifying, because unaccompanied by any testimony of an hereditary predilection or partiality. In truth there are many obvious reasons, besides the disparity of age, why the distinguished favourite of king Charles the first, could never be much in the good graces of king Charles the second.

In the same year Ashburnham was unanimously elected one of the representatives in parliament for the county of Sussex. At that time, when the great majority of the whole nation was, (to use a modern phrase,) ultra-royalist, the freeholders of that county, where the last ineffectual efforts of loyalty had been made,* could hardly have been among the “ most men,” who “ did believe, that “ there was treason in the contrivance” of the king's “ unhappy peregrination;” which “ led to “ so fatal an end.” Unless indeed subsequently aware of their error, and actuated by remorse, they resolved on affording the best amends for this unworthy suspicion by the most unequivocal public manifestation of esteem and confidence. But however marked their constitutional attachment to the throne, it does not follow, that they should have deemed their interests best secured by trusting them to the discretionary care of a veteran bedchamber favourite, the well trained "creature of a court."* If there was ought, beyond personal character, to recommend to the favourable notice of his constituents this their fellow countryman, it was perhaps less in consideration of his having once served (according to lord Clarendon) among the domestics of the duke of Buckingham, than in that of their forefathers having twice sent his lineal ancestors to serve among the representatives of the commons of England in parliament assembled:—a John Ashburnham in 1396; and a John Ashburnham in 1554.

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* At Horsham, in July 1648.

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* "Was it with *such creatures of a court* as Jermyn or Ash-"burnham, that he (the king) could outwit Vane or overawe "Cromwell?"

It is not in the spirit of complaint, or remonstrance, that the above passage from Mr. Hallam's Constitutional History is introduced. There is in it no cause for such feelings. He has done that, which it is desirable that all, who treat of the history of past times, should do. He has drawn information from a stream, certainly the most copious; issuing from a source, apparently the most pure. But water, however brilliantly limpid, may be impregnated with some deleterious and deadly mineral, imperceptible to the eye or palate; which chemical analysis can alone detect. It may be asked in return, (and, it is hoped equally without offence) what can Mr. Hallam, with all his depth of research and extent of acquirement, know of this groom of the bedchamber? what notion can he have formed of his character, other than that, which necessarily results from lord Clarendon's writings: where brought from comparative obscurity, it is shewn in a light equally glaring and unfavourable.

1661. In an old evidence book containing short abstracts of marriage-settlements, wills, title-deeds, &c. is the following entry—" The " great park of Ampthill, Brockborough park and " Bickerings park were, July 16, 1661, by the " advice of the earl of Southampton, lord high " treasurer, granted to John Ashburnham for " forty years. And July 21, 1666, the same " granted for an additional term of forty years, in " consideration of several sums disbursed by John " Ashburnham for the king, his royal father, and " the queen consort, which did not appear when " the first lease was granted."

" These parks had been granted by letters " patent dated at Oxford April 13, 1646, to John " Ashburnham, Lettice Viscountess Falkland, and " Sir Edward Nicholas for securing the sum of " 12912 pounds then owing by his majesty."*

1671. John Ashburnham died in the 68th year year of his age. Judged of by the little apparent advantages derived from the many opportunities, which he must have had of enriching himself, this

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* The substance and date of the above entry accord with those of the king's letter to the queen from Newcastle, May 15, 1646 (given in the Appendix,) in the postscript of which his majesty writes—" I owe Jack nine thousand two hundred " pounds."—Which, being so large a portion of the afore-named sum, may account for Jack's name occurring before those of his betters.

"creature of a court" may be fairly set down, in every sense, as a very poor creature. In truth after twenty years of service in one reign, and ten in the other, there is better evidence of his having been a loser than a gainer by it. The sequestration of his estate in 1643, and the subsequent rejection of his wife's humble petition for some allowance of its proceeds for the maintenance and education of their children, are authenticated by parliamentary records. But there is no where evidence of any countervailing remuneration:—even were it admitted, that the king's "market man" on selling the peerage to sir John Lucas "had gotten five hundred pounds for his pains."

If it were true that "he compounded at an easy "rate, *as it was reported*" (for lord Clarendon vouches not for the fact, but only for the report:) the value of the indulgence could hardly have been an equivalent for the sequestered rents of six or seven years.

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* It has been heretofore observed, that Ashburnham in his Narrative asserts that "he found in the prosecution of his composition, that not less than one half of his little estate would "be accepted:" and that "neither before or since, has there "been any man, admitted to composition, who hath had the "same measure." It has been further observed, that he could never have ventured to make this assertion, if false, (either as to the composition being unparalleled in magnitude, or his estate being small,) and still less to shew it to the chancellor and "such of his friends in whose opinion he most desired to be "absolved."

The world has been told of "a great fortune "and many conveniences" which he received, together with the fair hand of the lady dowager Powlett: but nothing of "little billets" for large sums, slipped into his own by a gracious sovereign; who (according to lord Clarendon) "was "not in his nature very bountiful."

Although it cannot be denied, that he too participated in the grants of crown lands. Neither can it be denied, that such, as fell to his share, were but the niggardly, slow, dribbling, piecemeal repayments of those "considerable sums of money" with which the noble Historian admits, that he supplied his expatriated, vagrant, and starving king: as he had done before by "his majesty's "royal father and the queen consort" his mother.

In point of rank and honours he died, as he was born,—John Ashburnham.—Certain it is that he was one,

Who gain'd no title;* and who lost no friend.

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* Not so his fellow-"creature of a court." He first gained the title of baron Jermyn; then of earl of St. Albans: was made knight of the garter, and lord chamberlain to the king.—The three last dignities were obtained from Charles the second.—What was his "relation of service" † either to the queen consort,

† So lord Clarendon, speaking of himself says, as yet having "no *relation of service* his principles were much more agreeable "to the king's judgment than those of either of the other "two."—Falkland and Culpeper; both responsible ministers of state.

Death alone severed the connecting ties between him and Hertford; and Southampton; and Colepepper; sir Orlando Bridgeman; sir Edward Nicholas; and sir Philip Warwick.

That from the known characters of a man's associates his own may be fairly inferred, there is perhaps no language, antient or modern, without its proverb to affirm. And in proverbs is concentrated the essential spirit of human wisdom drawn from practical experience. Rash as the assertion may seem, it shall here be hazarded;—that subjected to this criterion, there is no man, whose character should rise to a higher level of estimation than Ashburnham's. Not even that of lord Clarendon himself, who has immortalized the names of his own companions. Happily he has done the same by the friends of Ashburnham.* Their

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or to the queen mother, the noble Historian with his usual tenderness for royal frailties, and invariable fondness for mysterious enigmas, has so slightly insinuated, that were it not for other authorities, among whom may be enumerated bishop Burnet, and bishop Kennet, and bishop Warburton, he would be wholly unintelligible. These are all unanimous in affirming that for some time previous to the king's death he was her majesty's paramour: and subsequently (as Ariosto sings of two more youthful lovers)

"per onestar la cosa,"

her majesty's husband.

* As it is not to be hoped that readers should take the trouble of searching out these admirable passages in the History of the Rebellion, &c. the writer of this Vindication gives them in

characters, painted to the life by the noble Artist, are among the most splendid illuminations of his historical pages: as formerly, their portraits, by Janssen, Mytens and Vandyke, were the choicest ornaments, but ("as they say," "as it was reported," and "as most men did believe,") not the most ruinously expensive decorations of Clarendon house.

In observance of the rule self-prescribed in the exordium of this Vindication, and never since neglected, the author here submits to his reader's consideration the sufficiency of the reason for claiming in his ancestor's favour the valued friendship of sir Orlando Bridgeman.* It appears in the evidence book above quoted, that he was appointed by John Ashburnham, in his last will, one of the trustees for his grandson and heir during his minority.

Sir Philip Warwick has himself perpetuated in his Memoirs the testimony (heretofore adduced) of attachment to "his friend Mr. Ashburnham."

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the Appendix: convinced that, however often they may have been studied, every fresh perusal must be attended with increased delight, and be equally conducive to the end, which he has here in view.

* "The seal is delivered to sir Orlando Bridgeman; the "man of the whole nation, that is the best spoken of, and will "please most people: and therefore I am mighty glad of it."
Pepys' Diary, August 31, 1667.

For the friendship of the remaining four, out of six, lord Clarendon himself supplies the authority.

But far above all these friends the King stands pre-eminently conspicuous; not so much on account of his exalted rank, as of the more frequent mention of him, as such, by the noble Historian of his reign. The vocabulary of our language, copious as it is, seems to have been exhausted in varied expressions to inculcate an adequate notion of the affectionate regard, unbounded confidence, and entire reliance lavished on this unworthy servant by his ill-judging master.

The poet avails himself discreetly and moderately of the licence conceded to him, when he says;

> "A fav'rite has no friend."

Since, with all the sober scrupulosity of the dullest proser, it may be truly said, that he must have many enemies. Against the favourites of kings there is an antipathy not confined to one generation, but extending to all. Thus the object of a contemporary's unmerited envy, hatred, and malice is bequeathed, an acceptable heir-loom, to the all uncharitableness of succeeding ages. The hostile prejudice is too natural, not to be universal: inasmuch as the most notoriously and deservedly infamous favourites have been those of the weakest, or most vicious princes. Yet surely they, who are not resolved to deny the possibility of a king's being susceptible of those virtues and qualities, which most adorn, and endear a man in private life, will not easily point out a sovereign, whose partiality ought to reflect less injuriously on the character of a favourite, than that of Charles the first. Compared with his immediate predecessor, or successor, that sovereign, and consequently his favourite, cannot but appear to great advantage. To have found favour in the sight of James the first, either pedantry, or a handsome person, might have been the sufficient recommendation. To have lived in the good graces of Charles the second would bespeak the courtier to have been possibly a wit, but certainly a libertine. While he, who was most acceptable to Charles the first, cannot have been irreligious, immoral, or illiterate: either indecorous in his habits, unpolished in his manners, or inelegant in his pursuits.

It may be said, that this is an assumption grounded on, what may be deemed by some, lord Clarendon's eulogium, rather than character, of the ill-fated monarch. But so far as it is here applicable, it contains nothing, which is not to the utmost borne out by the testimony of Mrs. Hutchinson. That fair republican, whose words, not less than sentiments, denote the love of freedom, thus candidly admits, and justly describes the reformation of courtly morals on the accession of the second Stuart to the throne of England.

"The face of the court was much changed in "the change of the king: for king Charles was "temperate, chast, and serious: so that the fooles "and bawds, mimicks and catamites, of the "former court, grew out of fashion; and the nobillity and courtiers, who did not quite abandon "their debosheries, had yet that reverence to the "king, to retire into corners to practise them. "Men of learning, and ingenuity in all arts were "in esteeme, and received encouragement from "the king; who was a most excellent judge, and "a greate lover of paintings, carvings, gravings, "and many other ingenuities; less offensive than "the bawdry, and prophane, abusive witt, which "was the only exercise of the other court."—Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson, vol. i. p. 127-8.

As, before entering on the best accredited and most popular relation of that mysterious transaction, (the king's going to the Isle of Wight) in which Ashburnham was so principally engaged, it was deemed an expedient preliminary to ascertain what was the noble Historian's disposition towards him antecedently; so it may not be found irrelevant, or even (as far as it regards lord Clarendon) uninteresting, to enquire how far the same continued to be subsequently unaltered, even after a period of eighteen years. For thus will be established on his lordship's behalf a claim to a similar encomium to that bestowed on some one by Dr. Johnson, that—" he was a good hater."

Nor is a reference to vol. ii. page 222 of the Continuation of lord Clarendon's Life, for another purpose, here ill-timed. Inasmuch as the same passage vouches for the claim, already preferred in favour of Ashburnham, to the long and uninterrupted friendship of sir Edward Nicholas.

" An intrigue in the court to advance sir H. Benet."

" There happened about this time an alteration " in the court, that produced afterwards many " other alterations which were not then suspected, " yet even at that time was not liked in the court " itself, and less out of it. The keeper of the " privy purse, who was more fit for that province " than for any other to which he could be applied, " did not think himself yet preferred to a station " worthy of his merit and great qualifications. " Some promises the king had made to him when " he was at Fuentarabia, and had long much " kindness for his person and much delight in his " company: so that his friend, Mr. O'Neile, who " was still ready to put his majesty in mind of all " his services, had nothing hard to do but to find " a vacancy that might give opportunity for his " advancement; and he was dexterous in making

" opportunities which he could not find, and made " no scruple to insinuate to the king, ' that the " ' abilities of neither of his secretaries were so " ' great but that he might be better served.' Indeed his majesty, who did not naturally love " old men, had not so much esteem of them as " their parts and industry, and integrity deserved, " and would not have been sorry if either or both " of them had died.

" Secretary Nicholas had served the crown very " many years with a very good acceptation, was " made secretary of state by the late king, and " loved and trusted by him in his nearest concernments to his death: nor had any man, who " served him, a more general reputation of virtue " and piety and unquestionable integrity throughout the kingdom. He was a man to whom the " rebels had been always irreconcileable; and from " the end of the war lived in banishment beyond " the seas, was with his majesty from the time he " left France (for whilst the king was in France " with his mother, to whom the secretary was not " gracious, he remained at a distance; but from " the time that his majesty came into Germany " he was always with him) in the exercise of the " same function he had under his father, and returned into England with him, with hope to " repair his fortune by the just perquisites of his

" office, which had been very much impaired by " his long sufferings and banishment. He had " never been in his youth a man of quick and " sudden parts, but full of industry and application (which it may be is the better composition), " and always versed in business and all the forms " of dispatch. He was now some years above " seventy, yet truly performed his office with " punctuality, and to the satisfaction of all men " who repaired to him: and the king thought it " an envious as well as an illnatured thing, to " discharge such an officer because he had lived " too long."

" Whilst this intrigue was contriving and depending, great care was taken that it might not " come to the notice of the chancellor, lest if he " could not divert the king from desiring it, " which they believed he would not attempt, he " might dissuade his old friend the secretary, " with whom he had held a long and particular " friendship, from hearkening to any proposition, " or accepting any composition; which they believed not unreasonably that the other would be " very solicitous in, as well to keep a man in, " whom he could entirely trust, as to keep another out, of whose abilities he had no esteem, " and in whose affection he had no confidence: " and it was thought by many, that the same

" apprehension prevailed with the good old man " himself to cherish the secrecy. Certain it is, " that the matter was resolved and consented to, " before ever the chancellor had a suspicion " of it.

" *O'Neile, who had always the skill to bring

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* " O'Neile, who had always the skill to bring that to pass " by others, which he could not barefaced appear in himself," &c.

Whether, like the lord Orrery, " believing that he could " never be well enough at court, except he had courtiers of all " sorts obliged to him, who would therefore speak well of him " in all places and companies:"—or whether with the disinterested impartiality of the sun shining on the just and on the unjust, certain it is that this O'Neile was wont to shed his fostering influence alike on the alpha and the omega of contemporary statesmen; on the most, and the least, virtuous of ministers; on the Earl of Clarendon, and the Earl of Arlington.†

Vol. i. p. 81. of this Vindication.

Among even the attentive readers of lord Clarendon's Life perhaps all may not here have immediately recognized an individual, who at an earlier period by ten years, and when placed in a more advantageous point of view, was first presented to their notice. The following passage is transcribed from page 301 of the first volume.—" The gracious inclination in the " princess royal towards the chancellor's wife and children, and " the civilities of the lady Stanhope had proceeded much from " the good offices of Daniel O'Neile, of the king's bedchamber; " who had for many years lived in very good correspondence " with the chancellor, and was very acceptable in the court of " the princess royal, and to those persons who had the greatest

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† The incomparable author of the Mémoires de Grammont says of Arlington:—" Il s'étoit donné pour grand politique: " et, n'ayant pas le loisir de l'examiner, on l'avoit cru sur sa " parole." To similar causes other successful impositions, in a greater or less measure, may be traced.

"that to pass by others which he could not bare-
"faced appear in himself, insinuated to Mr. Ash-
"burnham, who pretended and I think had much
"friendship for the secretary, 'that the king
"'thought the secretary too old to take so much
"'pains, and often wished that his friends would

"influence upon her councils and affections."*—"When notice "came from the Spa that Mrs. Killigrew, one of the maids of "honour to the princess, was dead, O'Neile came in the instant "to the chancellor, with very much kindness, and told him, that "the princess royal had a very good opinion of him, and kind "purposes towards his family; and that he was confident that, if "the chancellor would move the king to recommend his daughter, her highness would willingly receive her."

So far O'Neile proceeded in 1655 as he afterwards did in 1665. But in the former case we find, that there were some intrigues in which he did not scruple to *appear barefaced himself.* For no "secresy was enjoined, that it might not come to the "king's ear, that he had communicated this secret to any man." The chancellor therefore, as he was fully at liberty to do, "told "his majesty all that had passed between O'Neile and him; and "that for many reasons he declined the receiving that obligation "from the princess; and therefore had no use of his majesty's "favour in it."

In this resolution, we have seen, that the chancellor inflexibly persevered, until he discovered how he was thereby opposing the divine will; which had ordained that Mrs. Anne should be a maid of honour; as preparatory of course to her becoming in succession all, that an affectionate father has emphatically pronounced her to have been. (For all which see vol. i. page 378 of Clarendon's Life.)

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* That O'Neile was very acceptable at least to the lady Stanhope, (afterwards created countess of Chesterfield,) there is good evidence in her ladyship's having taken him for her third husband.

" ' persuade him to retire, that there might be a " ' younger man in the office, who could attend " ' upon his majesty at all hours and in all jour- " ' nies; but that his majesty always spake kindly " ' of him, and as if he resolved to give him an " ' ample recompense:' and in confidence told " him, ' that the king had an impatient desire to " ' have sir Harry Bennet secretary of state.' " Ashburnham was well versed in the artifices of " court too; and thought he might very well " perform the office of a friend to his old confi- " dent, and at the same time find a new and more " useful friend for himself, by having a hand in " procuring a large satisfaction for the old, and " likewise facilitating the way for the introduction " of a new secretary, who could not forget the " obligation. So he told O'Neile, ' that all the " ' world knew that he had for many years pro- " ' fessed a great friendship for secretary Nicho- " ' las (they had been both servants at the same " time to the duke of Buckingham, when he was " killed), and that he should be much troubled " ' to see him discharged in his old age with con- " ' tempt; but if his majesty would dismiss him " ' with honour and reward, that he might be able " ' to provide for his wife and children, he would " ' make no scruple to persuade him to quit his " ' employment.' O'Neile had all he looked for,

" and only enjoined him secrecy, ' that it might " ' not come to the king's ear that he had com- " ' municated this secret to any man; and he did " ' presume, that before any resolution was taken " ' in it, his majesty would speak of it to the " ' chancellor.'

" Within a day or two the king sent for Ash- " burnham and told him, ' he knew he was a " ' friend to the secretary, who was now grown " ' old, and not able to take the pains he had " ' done; that he had served his father and him- " ' self very faithfully, and had spent his fortune " ' in his service; that if he were willing to retire, " ' for without his consent he would do nothing, " ' he would give him ten thousand pounds, or " ' any other recompense he should choose,' im- " plying a title of honour: but intimated, though " he referred all to his own will, ' that he wished, " ' and that it would be acceptable to him, that " ' the office might be vacant and at his majesty's " ' disposal.'

" He undertook the employment very cheer- " fully, and quickly imparted all that had passed " from the king, and all that he knew before, to " the secretary; who was not fond of the court, " and thought he had lived long enough there, " having seen and observed much that he was " grieved at heart to see. He considered, that

" though this message was very gracious, and " offered a noble reward for his service, it did " withal appear that the king did desire he should " be gone; and having designed a successor to " him, who had already much credit with him, if " he should seem sullen or unwilling, he might in " a short time be put out without any considera- " tion, or at most with the promise of one. There- " upon he wished his friend to ' assure the king, " ' that he would very readily do whatsoever his " ' majesty thought necessary for his service; " ' but he hoped, that after above forty years " ' spent in the service of the crown, he should " ' not be exposed to disgrace and contempt. " ' That he had a wife and children, who had all " ' suffered with him in exile till his majesty's " ' return, and for whom he could not make a " ' competent provision without his majesty's " ' bounty; and therefore he hoped, that before " ' his majesty required the signet, he would cause " ' the recompense he designed to be more than " ' what he had mentioned, and to be first paid.'

" This province could not be put into a fitter " hand, for it was managed with notable skill. " And as soon as it was known that the secretary " would willingly resign, which was feared, and " that only a better recompense was expected, " every body was willing that the king should "make the act look as graciously as might be, that "the successor might be attended with the less "envy. And Mr. Ashburnham cultivated their "impatience so skilfully, that it cost the king, in "present money and land or lease, very little less "than twenty thousand pounds, to bring in a ser-"vant whom very few cared for, in the place of "an old servant whom every body loved: and he "received all that was promised, before he re-"signed his place. And if the change had been "as good for the king, as it was for the good old "secretary, every body would have been glad."

I.

"Mr. Ashburnham, who pretended, and I think "had, much friendship for the secretary."

In so thinking the lord chancellor has at once manifested his own particular candour, and exposed the groom of the bedchamber's general insincerity.

"Exceptio probat regulam de rebus non exceptis."

So candid an avowal recalls that magnanimous acquittal of Ashburnham, which lord Clarendon would have pronounced (*if he had been obliged to give an opinion,*) after having by a series of proofs and mass of evidence made good the charge of treachery against him, to the subsequent entire conviction of MM. Rapin de Thoyras and Bertrand de Moleville, besides all native compilers, abridgers, and readers of English history.

II.

" Ashburnham thought he might very well
" perform the office of a friend to his old confi-
" dent, and at the same time find a new and more
" useful friend for himself, by having a hand in
" procuring a large satisfaction for the old, and
" likewise facilitating the way for the introduc-
" tion of a new secretary, who could not forget
" the obligation."

Of the two motives, to which Ashburnham's conduct is here jointly ascribed, the former is sufficiently established on a well attested fact: while the latter is left for its sole support to a slanderous surmise. If he was, as he is here said to have been, " well versed in the artifices of court; " able to manage this province with notable " skill;" and " to cultivate the impatience" of the king and his favourite " so skilfully," he is not likely to have betrayed his own baseness. And, if he did not, how came lord Clarendon by his knowledge of it? The fact, above alluded to, is this; Ashburnham, on being told by O'Neile in confidence, that the king had an impatient desire to have sir Henry Bennet secretary of state, replied, that " he should be much troubled to see his " friend, sir Edward Nicholas, displaced in his " old age with contempt. But, *if* his majesty " would dismiss him with honour and reward, " that he might be able to provide for his wife " and children, he would make no scruple to per- " suade him to quit his employment." Thus at least the securing of a suitable and honourable recompense for his old confidant was positively stipulated for, as a sine-quâ-non preliminary to his finding a new and more useful friend for himself. The latter being made wholly dependent and consequent on the former.

Neither does this expressly conditional acceptance of a proffered commission for such a purpose accord with the notions generally entertained of creatures of a court: namely, that they are above all others submissive to the will, and obedient to the behests of their creator.

III.

“ And if the change had been as good for the “ king, as it was for the good old secretary, every “ body would have been glad.”

Of course no one would, in that case, have been more glad than the chancellor. But, as the case here stands, he has testified much of other, and very contrary, feelings; with little of joy at “ the “ good old secretary's” having been at length enabled, after a forty years service, to make a decent provision for his wife and children: and still less of approbation, that by Ashburnham's well known “ *managery*” (of which his former royal master “ *had so great an opinion,*”) the sordid remuneration, as originally intended, of ten thousand pounds, should ultimately have “ cost the king in “ present money, and land or lease, very little less “ than twenty thousand pounds.” And yet with one exception it would have been difficult for the chancellor to say how “ his majesty's royal “ bounty” could have been better bestowed.*

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* Of the several gratuities, known to have been conferred by the king on the lord chancellor, there is not one separately, whether in land, or in lease, or in present money, which does not singly exceed the aggregate value, as here computed, of this remuneratory patch-work of odds and ends; to all appearance not so much grudgingly bestowed on this meritorious veteran in office by a heartless monarch, as grudgingly viewed by his rapacious prime minister.

Perhaps it may be here allowable to submit to the reader's candid and impartial consideration, whether the groom of the bedchamber's agency in this intrigue, (even admitting the unwarranted imputation of self-interested motives,) be so reprehensible and disgraceful in him, as the lord chancellor's relation of it with regard to himself.

It is affirmed, that Ashburnham had two objects in his view, when persuading sir Edward Nicholas to retire. The one, by actively co-operating to satisfy the king's "impatient desire," and to facilitate the "introduction of a new "secretary, who would not forget the obligation," to promote his own interest. The other, to secure to his old friend a well-earned and well-merited recompense for long and faithful services; wherewithal to avert distress and poverty from his family after his decease. But lord Clarendon in his estimate of the result seems solely to have contemplated with indignant vexation the advancement thus obtained for his contemned foe;† and to have entirely overlooked, as a consequence of no moment, the advantages equally accruing to his time-honoured friend.*

†Arlington.

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* At the time of this intrigue (1663) twenty years had elapsed since that of an intention (1643) to remove this very same sir Edward Nicholas from this very same office of secretary of state, in order to make room for one "Ned Hyde." Of

Before dismissing this subject, there is yet one more remark, to which, as being most material, it is wished to call the reader's attention. Being not less than to shew, that there are some plausible reasons to be pointed out in exculpation of Ashburnham from the heaviest charge founded on the statement of this intrigue; against which not all the so often repeated endearing epithets of "the good" and the "old" could protect the worthy and venerable secretary; the "particular "friend" of lord Clarendon. For, it is asserted, that, "whilst this intrigue was contriving, great "care was taken, that it might not come to the "notice of the chancellor; and that it was thought "by many, that the good old man cherished the "secrecy." Now we learn, that O'Neile, "who "had always the skill to bring that to pass by "others, which he could not barefaced appear in "himself," had followed up his insinuations to Ashburnham of the king's impatient desire, with

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whom the king said, "(these were his majesty's own words), "that he must make him secretary of state: for the truth was "he could trust nobody else:" and "who at this time did the "greater part of the business of secretary of state." On which account, as well as that he was now his declared successor, "the good old man," instead of "taking very heavily an invasion of his office, which no man bears easily," with a cheerful countenance embraced the aforesaid "Ned" and "called him "his son." Life, vol. iii. p. 169.

injunctions of secrecy; that it might not come to *the king's ear;* and with assurances, "that, before "any resolution was taken in it, his majesty would "speak of it to the chancellor."

What then in probability could have been the inducement to O'Neile, well knowing what he was about, and those with whom he was dealing, to impress on Ashburnham the expediency of secrecy, and the notion, that the chancellor would be apprized by the king himself of the proposed change; but the apprehension, that Ashburnham would not be prevailed upon to co-operate in giving effect to a measure of such importance to the government, without the knowledge, approbation, and consent of lord Clarendon.

Nor is it unworthy of observation, that Ashburnham did not act upon O'Neile's insinuations. It was not till after the king had sent for him, and had himself told him, what he required of him to do, that he took any active part. And this may surely be said in excuse for his credulity in believing, that the king had spoken to the chancellor, and that his majesty would not be a party in offering such a slight and insult to his prime minister, that it was not till after the successful issue of this intrigue, that the noble auto-biographer has in the very next paragraph informed the world, that "*from this time* the chancellor's interest and credit with the king manifestly *declined.* Yet his majesty did not in the least degree withdraw his favour from him."

The certain knowledge drawn from such unquestionable authority of an uninterrupted friendship during a period of forty years between Nicholas and Ashburnham, is further available towards the establishment of a fact, which cannot fail to shew the character of the latter raised on a loftier basis, and prouder pedestal, than any, on which it has as yet been seen to rest.

"Tell me with whom you live; and I will tell you who you are," is one of the versions of that universal proverb, to which allusion has heretofore been made. That on this question being put to our groom of the bedchamber he might with equal truth and pride have answered,—with the lord high chancellor,—the following facts and arguments are now submitted.

After the loss of his best beloved Falkland there are not among the lord Clarendon's friends and colleagues any, with whom he evidently kept up a more uniform, familiar, confidential and affectionate intercourse, than the lord treasurer Southampton and secretary Nicholas: perhaps the only two publick characters of that period absolutely invulnerable, and in private life equally without reproach. Yet even of these,

> animæ, quales neque candidiores
> Terra tulit, nec queis me sit devinctior alter,

the groom of the bedchamber might have as truly said, as the lord high chancellor.

If it should seem that an unwarrantable stress is here laid on the noble Historian's admission that the earl of Southampton was, as well as the marquis of Hertford, among those, who at the restoration gave Ashburnham a good testimony; let it be remembered that a still stronger testimony was borne in favour of the latter, when it was recorded that Ampthill Great-Park was granted and re-granted to him expressly at the advice of the lord high treasurer Southampton: nor let it be denied, that for a man to be repaid his own money out of a royal grant, advised by a patriot-loyalist, is somewhat more reputable than to be made a partaker of Irish confiscations through the *king's signal bounty, moved by an old rebel.**

Both Evelyn and Pepys, whose lately published Diaries in truth "are the abstract and brief chronicle of the times" they lived in; and "as "good as a chorus to interpret" the dramatis personæ, in which their contemporary players were

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* See vol. i. page 79 of this Vindication; see also Appendix.

" strutting and fretting their hour upon the " stage;" make frequent mention of Ashburnham as of no disreputable companion, or unacceptable guest, in the best societies. Pepys, with evident self-gratulation, has noted down the first time of being in company with him. They most usually met at the house of sir George Carteret; the same whose cheerful society and hospitable table for more than two years, while in Jersey, enabled the chancellor together

> libris——et inertibus horis*
> Ducere solicitæ jucunda oblivia vitæ.

But as connected with the jet of the present argument it is a more curious coincidence, which occurs in Pepys' notice of their second meeting.

" September 2, 1667.

" Dined with sir George Carteret: with whom " dined Mr. Jack Ashburnham and Dr. Cricton, " who I observe is a most good man and scholar, " &c. &c. *All the company gone*, sir G. Carteret " and I to talk: and it is pretty to observe how " already he says, that he did always look upon " the chancellor indeed as his friend, though he " never did do him any service at all, nor ever

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[*] Idle hours they surely were to *him*: though " he spent not " less than ten hours in the day among his books; and writ " daily little less than one sheet of paper with his own hand," considering, who he then was, and to what a period those days and hours belonged:—from 1646 to 1648!!!

"got any thing by, nor was a man apt (and that, "I think, is true) to do any man any kindness of "his own nature; though I do know that he was "believed by all the world to be the greatest sup-"port of sir G. Carteret with the king of any man "in England."

And so has he still continued to be believed by all the world. For the illustrious auto-biographer has recorded, and "with his own hand," that "for all this liberty, and entertainment received "during more than two years from the deputy "governor of Jersey, the chancellor always retained "so just a memory, that there was never any in-"terruption or decay of that friendship he then "made."*

It was lately suggested that O'Neile's assuring of Ashburnham that the king would himself speak to the chancellor, before he came to any resolution, probably arose from the conviction, that the former would not join in any measure, which might be deemed offensive or disrespectful towards the latter. Certainly not as equally plausible and warranted, but as not impossible in itself, or inconsistent with the aforesaid conjecture, would it be extravagant to fancy that a somewhat similar notion to that of O'Neile's with regard to Ashburnham's respect for the chancellor might have restrained sir George and Pepys from speaking so freely of the discarded minister, until they were left alone.

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* That is to say, with this one exception; that when sir George in the discharge of *his own* office would have (as Pepys says) "dared to do the †king good service," the chancellor underwent *a mortification* little, if at all, less severe than that, which he "had undergone during his short abode at Bristol," when *his* office of the exchequer was invaded by a groom of the bedchamber.

† By cutting down the trees in Clarendon Park. In what manner sir George in his turn "underwent a mortification," inflicted by the chancellor, as related by Pepys, has been shewn at page 92 of the first volume.

We are positively told, and on the best authority, that no one could at that time enter Clarendon house unobserved; and that of whatever was passing, little was unknown to the inquisitive and communicative clerk of the Acts, the readers of his Diary have reason to rejoice. Now according to lord Clarendon's particular friend Evelyn, Ashburnham had dined at his lordship's table on the 28th of August, five days previous to that, on which according to Pepys, Ashburnham was dining with lord Clarendon's old crony sir G. Carteret.

Light as air as these trifles may be, and wholly inadequate to bear out the assumption of social intercourse between two characters so dissimilar as Clarendon and Ashburnham, they not uselessly reflect back some particles of that powerful light cast on them by the following well attested fact. Inasmuch as they collaterally strengthen the reasonable conclusion, that this, however the only instance, which has come to our knowledge, must be but one of many others, that we know not of.

Evelyn's Diary,

"August 27, 1667.

"Visited the lord chancellor, to whom his majesty had sent for the seales a few days before. "I found him in his bedchamber very sad."

"August 28.

"I dined with my late lord chancellor, where "also dined Mr. Ashburnham and Mr. W. Legge "of the bedchamber. His lordship pretty well "in heart; though now many of his friends and "sycophants abandoned him."

At such a moment it was not likely that his lordship should have invited, or admitted, guests, whom he was not in the habit of familiarly entertaining; or in whose presence he could not safely, as freely, give loose to the sorrows of the statesman and of the patriot, aggravated by the losses, which the husband and the friend had recently sustained by the deaths of the countess of Clarendon and the earl of Southampton.

The result of these considerations is an alternative much to be deprecated. Either on the 28th of August 1667 the dissembling host must have had the secret satisfaction of knowing that he had already devoted to endless infamy (*κτημα ες αει*) his unsuspecting guest: or else, when subsequently blest "with grace and opportunity to make full "reflections upon his actions, and observations "on what he had seen others do, and suffer," the pious, charitable, forgiving christian must have deliberately supplied, and impartially too, all succeeding historians,—whether most anxious to mark a generous abhorrence for traitors, or a liberal scorn for creatures of a court,—with an apt, ready, and familiar illustration in the name of Ashburnham.

Life, vol. iii. p. 458-9.

"He was wont to say, 'that of the infinite blessings which "'God had vouchsafed to confer upon him almost from his "'cradle,' amongst which he delighted in the reckoning up "many signal instances, 'he esteemed himself so happy in "'none as in his *three acquiescences,*' which he called 'his "'three vacations and retreats he had in his life enjoyed from "'business of trouble and vexation;' *and in every of which God "had given him grace and opportunity to make full reflections "upon his actions, and his observations upon what he had done "himself, and what he had seen others do and suffer;* to repair "the breaches in his own mind, and to fortify himself with new "resolutions against future encounters, in an entire resignation "of all his thoughts and purposes into the disposal of God "Almighty, and in a firm confidence of his protection and deliverance in all the difficulties he should be obliged to contend "with; towards the obtaining whereof, he renewed those vows

" and promises of integrity and hearty endeavour to perform his " duty, which are the only means to procure the continuance of " that protection and deliverance.

" The first of these recesses or acquiescences was, his remaining and residing in Jersey, when the prince of Wales, his now " majesty, first went into France upon the command of the " queen his mother, contrary, as to the time, to the opinion of " the council the king his father had directed him to govern " himself by, and, as they conceived, *contrary to his majesty's " own judgment, the knowing whereof they only waited for*; and " his stay there, during that time that his highness first remained " at Paris and St. Germain's, until his expedition afterwards to " the fleet and in the Downs. His second was, when he was " sent by his majesty as his ambassador, together with the lord " Cottington, into Spain; *in which two full years were spent " before he waited upon the king again.* And the third was his " last recess, by the disgrace he underwent, and by the act of " banishment. *In which three acquiescences,* he had learned " more, knew himself and other men much better, and served " God *and his country with more devotion, and he hoped more " effectually, than in all the other more active part of his life.*"

A LETTER

FROM

Mr. ASHBURNHAM

TO

A FRIEND,

Concerning his Deportment towards the King in his late Attendance upon his Majesty's Person at Hampton Court and the Isle of Wight.

[First printed in the year 1648.]

A LETTER
FROM
Mr. ASHBURNHAM
TO
A FRIEND, &c.

Sir,

I have withheld this return too long; of which I am by so much the more ashamed, by how much I found yours so full of kindness. I will pretend to no excuse; but if your good nature will suggest, that the deep sense of my afflictions doth so oppress my spirits, as it renders me altogether indisposed to the least intercourse, you will be charitable, and take me right.

Would you believe, that, to my sorrows for the sufferings of our dear master the King, and the danger of the public, the generality of men in this kingdom (and probably in many other parts too) should charge me with the scandal of having betrayed his Majesty into the Isle of Wight, and that by compact with the Parliament and Army before his departure from Hampton Court? And, to obtain belief the better, have digested that their calumny into this form; that I did conspire with them to affright his Majesty away from thence, that they might have the better opportunity, being at a greater distance from London, to destroy him; which to effect, the nearness of that place made it very difficult, if not impossible; and that my reward for this service hath been a great sum of money? Thus from several hands. Which reproach, though I never deserved, and take myself to be very much above any thing of that kind: yet since there is no person, ambitious to acquire or preserve an honest reputation, but is awake, and always carries about him a tenderness to the least prejudice or diminution thereof; I cannot but be touched with some sense of that unhappy report, and give you, in whose good esteem I am much concerned, the true state of my part in that action, so far as may enable you to satisfy, if you meet with him, the most malicious person against me.

That I was commanded by their Majesties and the Prince's Highness to return into England, with instructions to endeavour, by the best means imaginable, such a compliance between his Majesty and the Army, as might have influence, and beget a right understanding between his Majesty and the Parliament, is a truth well known. That my infirmities are so great, and so public, as that it had been better for their service to have given that employment to some other of more eminent endowments, I do acknowledge with great humility. But that I did fulfil that trust with all industry and fidelity to their Majesties, I appeal to God and them, and do not doubt but I have my portion of favour, and stand still numbered in the catalogue of those subjects, whom they are yet pleased to stile faithful.

What passed between me and any member either of the Parliament or Army, as it will not at all advantage his Majesty's affairs to relate, so will it not any way conduce to my vindication. This word I shall only let fall, that a wiser man than I, or whoever is my greatest censurer, would and ought to have given credit to them, when power and interest, accompanied with large expressions of good will, were the arguments and motives, to gain belief of their real intentions. Nay truly, though his Majesty had known they intended nothing less than the performance of those duties to their sovereign and country, I cannot find (I know not what a quicker sighted man might have done) how in prudence his Majesty could have pursued any other interest, or made any other application than what he did, considering the power under which he was: which shall serve by way of glance at my part of negotiation in general, because even therein likewise I am not without some prejudices in many men's conceptions.

Some few weeks before his Majesty's remove from Hampton Court, there was scarce a day, in which several alarms were not brought to his Majesty, by and from very considerable persons (both well affected to him, and likely to know much of what was then in agitation) of the resolution, which a violent party in the Army had to take away his life: and that such a design there was, there were strong inducements to perswade; and I hope charity will be afforded to those many, who were, and still are of that belief, since I confess myself to be of that number. Which practice seemed to his Majesty the more probable, for that many other particulars, which were said in those informations to precede that action, fell out accordingly.* Whereupon his Majesty thought it not wisdom longer to despise the possible means left him for the prevention of that danger; and therefore resolved to retire himself from thence, but with this positive intention, not to desert this kingdom, either by crossing the seas, or going into Scotland. The reasons his

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* "There was not" (in Ashburnham's Apology) "any clear "relation of any probable inducement that prevailed with the "King to undertake that journey." Lord Clarendon.

Majesty gave, you will pardon me if I deliver not; and suspend your censure, in case your judgement invite you to oppose that result, till you hear the weight of them; and I will engage the little credit the world hath left me, you shall be satisfied.

And what man is he, who hath the least grain of understanding, bears about him any affections either to his sacred person, or to the common good, hath any regard to his own duty or reputation, who would have taken upon him to dissuade his Majesty* from what he had then resolved on; and thereby exposed himself both to the danger and guilt of that mischief, which so many had forewarned him of, and was so likely to happen? Sure I am, if I had been that man, I should have thought myself justly to have merited the character of unfaithfulness, which is now so injuriously cast upon me.

It rested then, that his Majesty was to make choice of a place, where he might avoid the present danger; where he might give least offence to the interest of the Parliament and Army; where he might have frequent intercourse with both, for settling a peace, of which he then despaired not; and, lastly, where he might most securely (and the measure of safety was, where there were no * soldiers) expect the abatement of the ruinous power of the levellers and their faction to be the fruits of the general rendezvous, which was immediately to follow.

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* "It had been a difficult task to go about to dissuade the "King from an apprehension of his own safety, when it was "much more natural to fear an assassination than to apprehend "any thing which they did afterwards do." Lord Clarendon.

Upon these grounds, his Majesty thought the Isle of Wight most proper for his residence, especially if he could obtain honourable conditions from the governor of that place; to whom (when his Majesty was come within twenty miles) he commanded sir John Berkley and myself to repair, and make trial of what reception we could procure for him; who, after some consideration of what we proposed, proffered this engagement, That, since it appeared his Majesty came from Hampton Court to save his life, if he pleased to put himself into his hands, whatever he could expect from a person of honour and honesty, his Majesty should have it made good by him: which truly to us seemed sufficient; and I do for my own part acknowledge, my confidence was, that, by that engagement, he would not have laid

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* Lord Clarendon's account of the Isle of Wight is that "it "was well affected;—generally inhabited by a people always "well affected to the crown, and at that time under no such "power as could subdue them."

any restraint upon his Majesty, nor have given access to any soldiers into that island. But how honourably and how faithfully he hath performed his promised duty to the King, you are as good a witness as myself; and therefore, as I take little pleasure in the memory of it, so there will be little satisfaction to you in repeating it. It shall suffice, that I have now been taught, that honour and honesty have clear contrary definitions in several men's understandings.

For the election his Majesty made of the Isle of Wight, upon the grounds before mentioned, as therewith I did then concur, so, with respect to their judgements, who are otherwise persuaded, I do still believe it was, as his affairs then stood, the best of any place, which he could make choice of * And I will not be afraid to avow my opinion, because success hath made it seem less reasonable; which being taken out of the scale, and all circumstances worthy debate, before his departure from Hampton Court, considered; perhaps wiser men than those, who in that presume to condemn his Majesty's judgement, may yet approve of that choice. However, his Majesty was resolved to go from Hampton Court; and, I know not what

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* "Yet Mr. Ashburnham did constantly deny that he ever "had any thought of the Isle of Wight, when the King left "Hampton Court." Lord Clarendon.

other men's customs are, I cannot but be well satisfied with my own, which hath been ever ready to submit, when his Majesty hath been willing to command. And I should account it a great misfortune to me, that his commands should be such, to which I should think fit rather with humility to oppose my reasons, than with cheerfulness to obey his pleasure. But that strait hath never yet happened, nor, I am confident, ever will; so careful is his Majesty to impose nothing upon any man, but what he believes just and lawful. That any member of the parliament or army had any knowledge by me of his Majesty's removal from Hampton Court, or that any compact between me and any of them was ever made, to the disservice of his Majesty in any particular whatsoever, I provoke them and all the world to produce the least colour of proof; and desire, that no man would spare me more than I should do such, whom I found guilty of so base a crime; and shall not stick to invite them to it, who have been so liberal in blasting my reputation, when I may live with that freedom they do, which either their greater wisdom, or their less loyalty than mine, hath purchased. In the mean time, it is some comfort to me to find these censurers to be men but of such dispositions, as will hazard no more than only their good wishes for his Majesty; and for such I take them, and for such leave them. If I should tell these severe judges of other men's actions, that his Majesty's present personal condition is the same in the Isle of Wight with what it was, when he left Hampton Court, they would perhaps wonder at me, but upon examination find it truth: or before his Majesty's coming from thence, at least six days, he was forbidden riding abroad, and confined within the limits of that place.

And if any man can assure me, that if his Majesty had continued at Hampton Court, the Parliament would not have presented these four bills to him, or that, they being presented, his Majesty's refusing to make them laws, should not have drawn on his late restraint, or the later votes of Parliament concerning farther application to his Majesty. I shall then (for indeed I take that to be the cause of his relapse) with great lowliness of spirit acknowledge myself to have been an unhappy (though not an unfaithful) instrument in his Majesty's remove from Hampton Court. But till then, my sufferings in these scandals may be continued, but my opinion not changed, nor the quietness of my mind disturbed, for having in that action discharged my duty to his Majesty.

As for the money I should have received for betraying his Majesty, if none of my calumniators have more to subsist on, than I have had either from Parliament or Army, they would be in worse condition, than, notwithstanding all their malice to me, I wish them. In earnest, it would better have become those, who first designed me this infamy, to have made choice of some, who had a mark upon them for doing some action, which may at least be of kin to the accusation, though but between fellow-subjects: but you will pardon my vanity, if I say I abhor such unworthiness, and defy mankind to bring the least blemish of that nature in judgement against me. I have done, when I have told you, that I have heard divines say, that God doth most punish us in those things we most prize, and think ourselves most concerned. I shall therefore hope to make a religious use of these aspersions cast upon my integrity; for I fear I did glory too much in my honour of faithfulness and loyalty to his Majesty, and did not thankfully consider, as I ought to have done, that it was the blessing of God, which enabled me to go through with the performance of my duty in his service.

If men would but as well think upon the solicitude and care of their minds, who are honoured with near relations to the service of great princes, as they look upon the advantages, which thereby fortune may cast upon them, they would find more cause to pity them for their labour and hazards (which is ordinarily beyond their capacities to fathom, who are at very remote distances,) than to envy them for their honour or profit. But since of all evils seated in the heart of man, malice hath the greatest dominion, it were vain for virtue itself to hope for freedom from those effects, which naturally arise from it; and much more for me, who, though in this particular I have as much innocence to protect me, as can be consistent with mortality, yet in other things, which may be imputed to weakness, and unskilfulness in matters of great concernment, I do with all ingenuity confess, no man carries a greater weight of guilt than he, whose care it is, to preserve unspotted the reputation of an honest man, thereby to retain still the favour and affection, wherewith you have constantly honoured,

Sir,

Your most faithful, and
Most humble Servant,

JOHN ASHBURNHAM.

Bishop Warburton has evidently mistaken this Letter for Ashburnham's Narrative, when he pronounces the latter to be "very poorly written:" because his objections, as assigned, are applicable only to the former. He begins by saying that "both

Apologies" (Berkeley's and Ashburnham's) " have " been since published." That Ashburnham's " is " wholly employed in vindicating his own integrity " from the charge of betraying his master to " Cromwell and Ireton on corrupt motives, with" out any account of the particulars of the trans" action. Berkeley's Narrative is much better " written, and more curious, as giving a detailed " account of the whole affair."

If this sagacious commentator, and discerning critic had adverted to the date (1648) which this *published* Letter bears, he might have recollected that, if the author of it had transgressed by a single step the line, within which he is here censured for having restricted himself, he would have committed a folly more unpardonable, as more pregnant with danger, than any of those for which he has been so unsparingly reproached: and that, if in *vindicating his own integrity,* he had added to mere protestations such *particulars of the transaction* as he omitted not afterwards to relate in his Narrative, he would indeed have *betrayed* the best interests of *his master,* and have hazarded the personal safety of some, who had evinced a disposition to restore his king.

NARRATIVE.

NARRATIVE.

I could not be ignorant that when all His Majestie's endeavours to have composed the unhappy differences betweene Him, Parliament, and Armie, proved unsuccessfull, the Persons who had the honour to be neare Him in those transactions, would be looked upon as verie obnoxious in the judgement of those who only consider'd things in the event.

And amongst such as were attending the King in that dismall conjuncture, I was not so partiall in my owne thoughts, but that I expected (as well as manie others) some portion of scandall; and therefore did (instantly) whilst things were fresh in my memorie, prepare a Narrative (for I very much scorne to call it a Vindication) touching my waiting on his Majestie to the Scottish Armie before Newarke, and His goeing from Hampton Court into the Isle of Wight: being (as I supposed) in regard of their want of success the Two things which would bring mee under the Censure of mine Enemies. But because those very men, who were concerned in the Treaty which begat the first of those Expeditions, were so industriously labouring to redeeme themselves by restoreing His Majestie: and those verie Persons to whom I was employ'd by His Majestie's especiall Command (whose unfaithfulness was the cause of the latter) haveing engrossed the entire power of the Nation, it seemed but ill discretion to let anie thing pass in publick from mee, that might interrupt the one; or loosely to deliver up myself to the cruelty of the other: especially since I was not of so great an age, but that I might (by God's favour) live to see a time that this truth might be (inoffensively) brought to light without anie prejudice to His Majestie's affaires; or anie probable danger to my self. And if I misjudge not, this is that proper season, and suites well with the necessity of saying something upon those subjects. Haveing (since my comeing out of Prison) mett with some friends of mine, who tell mee of a discourse (written by the Lord John Berkley) upon His Majestie's goeing to the Isle of Wight, wherein, though hee layes no stress upon my integrity, yet hee spares not to lay faults of other natures upon mee, which after Examination may perhaps prove to be his owne.

The Scotts Commissioners.

Cromwell and Ireton.

In earnest it were to be desired, that when the actions of men are to be delivered over to posterity, that there may be that tenderness had to Honour and esteeme, as to be exactly curious in setting downe the Truth in everie Assertion; least whilst wee endeavour to gaine Reputation from after ages, they be not (casting unmerited blemishes on others) loosers themselves, and this Caution I doe not only give, but shall carefully make use of it myself, or if the least scruple shall pass from mee, which shall not be of the same wariness I propose to others, I shall hasten all that may bee to obtaine their absolution; and when those who are in greate Arreares to mee in that kinde, shall take that Course, my armes shall be open to receive them with Embraces suitable to their Ingenuities, no condition being more delightful to mee, nor valuable, then to be at peace with all men.

I cannot (since it is so pertinent to my purpose) but make use of what (though upon a more divine subject) was said by a grave and most juditious Author,* That hee that goes about to perswade multitudes that they are not soe well informed as they ought to be in things generallie received and deepely rooted in them, shall never want impatient hearers. Because mens naturall inclinations

* Hooker.

are more prone to rest upon what they have allreadie embraced, and what for a long time hath had no opposition, than to be curious in the search after the Truth thereof; though it be the truth. Notwithstanding it too often cometh to pass that confident and severe Reprovers of Errors and defects (especiallie when they aime at the personall prejudices of those who in the services of Princes are honoured with neareness of Trust) are understood to be persons of singular freedome of minde, and therefore under that faire and plausible Colour, what Censure soever passeth from them, seemes to be so sound, and of so good Reputation, as what is wanting in the weight of their Aspersions, is supplyed by the aptness of mens ill disposed mindes to accept and beleeve them.

It is certainly greate vanitie in anie man to thinke himself exempted from Reproaches by his fellow Subjects, when by too late, and too miserable, experience wee have knowne the best of Kings, so traduc'd, as former Ages have left nothing to us of more injustice; and for succeeding times, His Example, and the Judgements which will inevitably follow his murderers, may perhaps be sufficient warning for those who shall be then liveing to avoid the like impieties. And that it may be knowne what sense His late Majestie had of those Evells charged upon Him, I suppose it may not bee amiss, that I insert heere what with greate anxietie of minde I have heard fall from Him; That the ouglie formes and shapes in which His Two Houses of Parliament had rendered Him to His people were so mischievous, that hee beleeved it altogether impossible for Him (though the success of His affaires were to be what were to be wished) to regaine their good affections, or recover His owne just Character; so verie deepely Hee thought the Calumnies raised against Him were setled in their hearts; insomuch, as through that despaire, Hee was often busied in Contemplation of proposing to the Parliament the surrendring His present possession of the Crowne to his Sonne, whose innocency was yet Protection enough against the like effects of their malice; a strange operation (certainly) those apprehensions must have, to produce a Resolution of deserting Soveraigntie; rather than to be the Object of His Subjects Hatred, though the grounds which made him so, were never so falsly,—never so inhumanely suggested.

And I hope it is no unpardonable presumption, for private men to make resemblance of their sufferings, in the unjust staines and blemishes of their Credits, with Persons of the most eminent dignity; for though it must be granted that their

Qualities may (in probabilitie) retaine the memorie of misrepresentations longer than those of inferiour ranke; yet I cannot see what privilege they can Challenge from Nature to have a more pierceing sense of injuries than others, since there are no limmitts set to the thoughts of Honour. Let it not therefore be judg'd Arrogancy or partiality in mee if I doe beleeve (the deformity of the suppos'd offence and the person on whom it is said to be practized being consider'd) that there hath not been manie greater sufferers than myself; and though for no other motive, yet for this, that my owne Posteritie may knowe, I have not stupidly through silence pass'd by the heavy Censures upon mee, there shall be (for their information) this faithfull discourse extant, to settle their judgement of my integritie to His Majestie, and prevent the irreverence which otherwise may perhaps not only be paid by them to my memorie, but give them cause (takeing loose Reports for granted Truths) to loath themselves for being branches of so unworthy and so wicked a Stocke.

If men would but as well consider the painefull and vexatious part impos'd on mee dureing all the Warrs, as they looke upon the Privileges I enjoy'd by my neare Relation to His Majestie's service, they would finde more cause to pitty mee for my Labours, than to envy mee for the Honour or profitt of my Employments. For from the time His Majestie went last from London, to the time Hee left Oxford to goe to the Scotts Armie, I will confidently affirme, I liv'd as painfull and as servile a life as anie (who ever hee was) of the meanest degree. But I hope that the unhappie Fate that hath hitherto followed mee, will at least leave mee in this, soe that I may not be thought to speake this by way of grudge, or repineing at the hardship of my duty, for God knowes, had the travell of my body or minde beene much more besett with Toyles and difficulties I should (with the same cherefullness) have waded through all, when in the least measure there had been question of pursueing His Majestie's interest. And I hope there is not yet so greate a failure of Justice amongst men, but that there will still be found some, who will justifie my passionate behaviour, upon all occasions in what might have conduced thereunto.

It is no part of my intentions to adventure upon the Historie of the unfortunate divisions betweene His Majestie and the Two Houses of Parliament, my buisinesse being onlie to deliver so much as my duty was particularly concern'd in, when His Majestie was pleased to remove from Oxford to the Scotts Armie, and from Hampton Court to the Isle of Wight; and not to trouble myself, or others, with more than what is pertinent to the suppressing those false and horrid aspersions cast upon my fidelitie in both those Actions, wherein I shall be carefull that nothing shall fall from mee, the Truth whereof I will not be ready at all times to justifie with my life.

To wave therefore all things that passed betweene His Majestie, the Two Houses of Parliament and their Armies till the month of April 1646. I hold it fitt to give this state of things, that when His Majestie's Forces were reduc'd to the last period (which I take to be the time when Oxford was besieged) it was judged necessarie by all considering men (as well for the advantage of that faithfull remnant within that place, as for His Majestie's safety) that His sacred Person should not be liable to the success of an assault, (for Conditions or Treaties seem'd vaine to be expected where the King was,) but that some expedient should be found by Escape from thence to save His life, though nothing could be thought on in order to His flight, that in point of danger kept not equall pace with the hazard of His stay. Notwithstanding it was then first debated (as the King was pleased to tell me) whither it were not better for His Majestie to endeavour the obtaining Conditions from the Cheefe Officers of the Parliament's Armie (since Hee had been so often refus'd by the

Parliament itself) rather than be expos'd to a certaine ruine in the Garrison; next, whither if Hee should faile of their duty (betweene whom and the Parliament there was at that time no verie good Correspondence) the safest way for the King were not to breake through some part of the Armie before Oxford, and make tender of His Person to the Two Houses at Westminster; and lastly, whither Hee should not get privatly beyond the Seas, either into France or Ireland, from whence Hee might hopefullie returne with supplyes to releeve Oxford, and give new life to His then languishing condition. To the first it was thought most necessarie, that His Majestie should labour by all meanes possible to perswade the Officers of the Armie to give Him honourable Conditions, and to trust himself with them rather than to continue in the Garrison. The Second was judged by most of His Council (to whom Hee was pleased to communicate that matter) to bee an Action of greate Resolution, and probably hopefull, though in regard of the danger that might happen to His Person in His passage to London, none of them would advise Him to it. The last was totally rejected, as a thing in no wise counsaileable, not only in regard of the misbecoming His Majestie, to quit His party in that faint seemeing way, but principallie because France and Ireland were both in that Extreamity as Hee could not (in any reason) expect releefe from either. The former being imbarked in a sharp and tedious Warr with Spaine, and the other soe farr reduced by the Parliament's forces, as that the strength then left under His Majestie's command, was wholy imploy'd in preserveing themselves from the visible danger which the power of the Parliament was daily necessitateing them to fall into.

Whilst these thoughts were under consideration, there arrived one Monsieur Montreul, Agent from France who had Instructions to Treate with the Commissioners of Scotland, (then in London) and to endeavour, by all meanes imaginable, to bring them to moderation in the point of the Covenant, and of other rigid particulars, which they had formerly insisted upon, to the utter separation of His Majestie's and their Interest, and with power to assure them, that if they would submit thereunto, the Crowne of France would undertake His Majestie should go into their Army (then before Newarke.)

The Commissioners well knowing the vast distance at that time, betweene them and the Parliament, and the probability there then was that those differences should grow dayly wider, rather then have anie composure, did with greate readiness embrace the profers made by the Agent, and shortned the worke (for indeed all things were, in a greate measure, before his comeing over agreed at Paris, betweene *Sir Robart Murray on the behalf of Scotland and Cardinall Mazarine on the part of the Queene of England) by giveing him authoritie to repaire to Oxford and comply with the King in all things Hee should desire, so as hee could dispose His Majestie to goe speedily to their Armie.

* a person well affected to His Majestie.

When these things were presented to His Majestie, Hee did approve of all that Negotiation, but did scruple what security He should have for the performance thereof; to which the Agent tendred Him the Engagement of the Crowne of France, which in favour to the Scotts (hee affirm'd) was obtained by them, and that that Security was part of the Commands hee stood charged with, hee profered that His Majestie should peruse his instructions to that point, or have with all expedition anie other satisfaction hee should require.

When that part was examined, his Majestie declared that hee fully rested upon that Engagement, and findeing all things ready for a Close, sent the Agent to the Scotts Armie to acquaint them with what had passed, and to desire (if they stood still resolved to pursue that Treaty,) they would send a strong partie of horse to Gainsborough to meete

Him, but withall, that His Majestie would not be bound to anie thing, till Hee receaved an Accompt from him how the Agreement rhelish'd in the Armie; Resolveing, that if by anie meanes, He could have anie reasonable Termes (in the interim) from either the English Parliament or the Armie (of both which Hee intended to make Tryall) Hee would not desert them to go over to the Scotts, who had been such unhappy Instruments in divisions between Him and His Subjects heere.

The Agent haveing taken his leave, His Majestie then thought it requisite to make his last attempt of discovering the reall intentions both of Parliament and Armie, whereby hee might make a true judgement of what was most in order to improove His then desparate Condition; in pursuance whereof, His Majestie sent such a message to the Parliament as would probably have begot some overture of their Inclinations towards a Peace, so as Hee might bee the better able to give a full Answeare to the dispatch He expected from Montreul, or governe Himself otherwise as from His Councill Hee should receive advice; but the returne which came from the Parliament was so absolute a Negative to the point of His Majestie's comeing to London, to treate of a Peace, as Hee beleeved He had then nothing left to his choice but to make tryall of the Officers of the Armie before Oxford and Woodstocke, or to make a Conjunction with the Scotts. And at this instant the Governour of Woodstocke (Captaine Fawcett) sent a messenger to His Majestie to informe Him of the necessities of that place, and to know His pleasure, whither Hee should expect releefe, or deliver it upon the best Articles hee could get, or perish in it, haveing made an honourable defence, even to the greatest extreamitie. This opportunity came seasonably to His Majestie, who immediately sent to Collonell Rainsborough (then Commander in Cheefe at that Siege) for a Pass for the Earles of Southampton and Lindsey, Sir William Fleetwood, and my self, to treate with him about the Surrender of Woodstock, which was sent accordingly—But the Instructions His Majestie gave us were, not only to deliver the Garrison upon the best Termes Wee could obtaine, but also to labour the Armie's acceptance of His Majestie's Person with one of these two Conditions; either to waite on him to the Parliament, and prevaile with them to receive Him, with Honour, and Freedome, or that they would preserve Him soe in their Army untill they could bring the Parliament to that Temper.

After wee had ended the Treaty for the Garrison, the Earle of Southampton found opportunity to let himself into the other part of our Business, which indeed seemed to some of the Principall men there (at least so farr as wee could discover) a thing verie agreable to their judgements. But because they would not adventure on so greate a Worke without the privity of their Superiour Officers (who were that night to Quarter not farr from that place) they desired libertie to impart the Proposition to them, with this satisfaction to us for the present; that in the Representing thereof, they would promise the profer of that honour should loose no advantage, and in case it should be accepted, they would send a Pass to us the next day, to returne and finish that Worke, but if the Pass came not, wee should take it for granted, there would be no Entertainment given to that motion. At our comeing backe to Oxford wee gave Accompt of our Proceedings to His Majestie, who had in our absence received Letters from Montreul to this effect, that hee found the Commissioners of Scotland (resideing in the Army) not fully resolved to concurre in their Articles of Agreement, which the Commissioners at London had submitted unto for His Majestie's satisfaction.

The next day being spent, and no Pass come from the Officers at Woodstock, it is not hard to thinke into what sad and miserable Condition the King was cast, Oxford being almost close begirt on all sides; but within some few houres more letters came from the French Agent, which did import that all difficulties were reconciled, and M^r David Lesley their Lieutenant Generall had orders to meete His Majestie with Two Thowsand Horse at Gainsborough.*

This Newes was so welcome to the King (being in dispaire of anie other Reception) as hee presently resolv'd to attempt His passage through the English Armie and Garrisons, to get to the Scotts. But being inform'd that Ma^r Ireton (Commissarie Generall to the Parliament's Army and then before Oxford) was a man of greate power and Credit with the Soldiery, and verie earnestly affected to Peace, thought it fitt to make some Tryall of him, whither hee would undertake to accept and protect His Majestie's Person upon the former Conditions, and to that purpose sent Sir Edward Ford (his brother in law) to sound his inclinations; with this assurance, that if hee consented I should follow the next day with power to conclude with him, in those or anie new matters hee should propose in order to His Majestie's Reception.

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* The following is the postscript of a letter from Ashburnham to the lord Culpeper, dated Oxford, Dec. 13th, 1645.

"As I was going to close this Dispatch, there is a Messenger "very happily arrived from the Lord Sinclair; who hath "brought a letter to his Majesty from him and David Leslie; "wherein they most earnestly invite his Majesty to come to "their army with great promises of security and complaints "against the Parliament.—We resolve (*if they will not admit* "*us at London*) to drive that nail home." Clarendon's State Papers, vol. ii. p. 197.

But by his not suffering anie man to returne to Oxford, His Majestie found plainly that hee did not rhellish the discourse upon that subject, and so quit the thought likewise of anie more advantage by him, than by the other Hee had try'd before.

By mentioning these particulars I suppose it easy for the World to judge, how unwilling His Majestie was to have deserted his hopes of reception by the English, haveing left nothing unassayed wherein there was anie possibilitie of effecting His desires in that point, would anie Reason, anie Religion, anie affection to the publick have brought them to their just consideration of their dutie to Him, or, in the next Relation, the advance of their own Private Interest.

And now His Majestie conceiveing Himself to be discharg'd from all Obligation, which by anie way could bee fastned upon Him by His Parliament, or by anie authoritie derived from them, setled His thoughts upon His journey to the Scotts Armie, and in order thereunto did acquaint some of His Privy Councell (as Hee was pleased to tell me) with His Intentions to leave Oxford, if They should approove of that Course to be best for His Affaires, and their preservation, but did not impart the truth of His designe with the Scotts, conceiveing, that most of them would have opposed with some unseasonable heate His conjunction with them. And therefore chose rather to put the designe of London upon it, whither Hee knew (by the measure Hee had formerly taken of their Inclinations) they would be glad (but not advise) Hee should adventure; which in debate fell out accordingly, they supposing (as indeed all wise men would have done) that if His Majestie could have got safe to London and have personally made greate offers of accommodation, trusting Himself with Confidence in the hands of His Two Houses, they would (in Relation to theire owne Honour and Interest) have accepted Him with much more moderation, than Hee could have hoped for, by anie intercourse under the Notions, and at the distance they then consider'd Him.

Amongst the manie favours I received from His Majestie (for which I trust God will not so farre forsake mee, or my posteritie as to suffer us to be unthankfull) He was pleased to communicate all these passages to mee, and to command my particular attendance upon Him, leaveing the mannagerie of that Expedition to my Care; by which I found, that greate Honours are allwayes accompanied with greate difficulties and hazards, for as I tooke it to be the cheefest marke of confidence His Majestie could conferr on anie Subject to deliver His sacred Person into my hands to bee conducted through so manie streights and dangers;* so I did not want foresight enough to consider the mischeefe that might befall mee, if His Majestie had mis-carried, in the least want of my Vigilance in that Trust; but, had my thoughts been never so defective in what might have been the Event of so greate an enterprize, the miserable experience I have gain'd, by the barbarous Censures upon mee in the other expedition, hath throughly informed mee what my portion of esteeme in the world hath been, and yet no other reason of force sufficient to have fram'd an accusation against mee for either but success.

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* Compared with these what was the risk, which Ashburnham could possibly have incurred by remaining in Carisbrook Castle with Hammond; in allusion to which the king, as unwarrantably as ungenerously, said to sir Ph. Warwick,—" I do " no way believe he was unfaithful to me; but I think he " wanted courage at that time, whom I never knew wanted it " before"? If he had ever wanted it, his majesty must have had opportunities enough to remark the deficiency: but then alas! his majesty had had also opportunities enough to estimate the consequences of having entered into that fatal negociation with Dr. Hammond's " penitent convert," which originated in his own imprudence.

No wonder then that it was " an accident in the king's " letting himself into that discourse, when he did but touch " upon it, which gave sir Philip the only occasion he ever had " to speak with the king on this affair: and *when he dared not " to seem more inquisitive.*"

However in obedience to His Majestie's pleasure I perform'd my dutie, and with humble acknowledgements to God's protection (after nine dayes travell upon the way, and in that time haveing pass'd through fourteene Guards and Garrisons of the Enemies) wee arriv'd safe at the Scotts Army before Newarke: where being come, His Majestie thought the most proper place for His Reception by the Generall and Scotts Commissioners would be the House of the French Agent, that all Circumstances belonging to the Treatie, betweene His Majestie, the Crowne of France, and the Kingdome of Scotland, might be adjusted.

Manie Lords came instantly to waite on His Majestie with professions of joy to finde that Hee had so farr honour'd their Armie, as to thinke it worthy His presence after so long an opposition: some of them desireing to knowe wherein they might best express their gratitude for the greate Confidence Hee had in them; His Majestie reply'd, that Hee should be well satisfied, for the hazards Hee had runn to get to them, if they would cheerefullie apply themselves to perform the Conditions upon which Hee came unto them; the Lord Lowthian (as His Majestie was pleas'd to informe mee) seemed to be surpriz'd with the word Conditions, and affirmed, that hee had never been privie to anie thing of that nature, nor did hee beleeve that anie of the Commissioners resideing in the Armie had anie more knowledge of that Treaty than himself.

Whereupon His Majestie desired the French Agent to summe up his Instructions from the Crowne of France; and to make a Narrative of his Negotiations thereupon with the Scotts Commissioners resideing in London; which when Hee had done, some of the Lords did assure His Majestie, that they were altogether ignorant of those particulars, and that therefore the Treaty being with their Commissioners at London, and they being a distinct bodie of themselves could not be responsible, or anie way concern'd therein. His Majestie then demanded how hee came to be invited thither, and what reason they had to send Him word that all differences were reconcil'd, and that David Lesley was to have met Him with a partie of Horse. They answered that it was verie true, for they approved well of His Majestie's confidence in them, beleeveing that the end of his honouring their Armie with His Residence was onlie to have made that the place where Hee intended to settle a Peace with His two Kingdomes; in short, such was the indisposition of the Earle of Lowthian towards His Majestie as Hee (being President of that Councill and of good Credit amongst them) would never suffer anie discourse to be made to His

Majestie, other than the takeing of the Covenant, and subscribeing all the Nineteene Propositions for the satisfaction of both Kingdomes; things, that as they were most distant from His Majestie's Resolution, being most averse to his Conscience and Honour, so they were most unexpected from persons so highly favour'd by the greate Adventures Hee had undergone for them.

To this usage they presently added restraint to His Person, setting Strict Guards upon Him, and grew in all things so rigid and severe, as to mee there seemed little distinction (either in discourse, or anie part of the Entertainment) betweene His Majestie and His Subjects, so that from these proceedings, the King did plainly discover, that they intended to evade all performance of Conditions upon the Treaty, by their not being privie to what those Commissioners at London had done. Whereas I am perswaded nothing was ever more exactly mannaged than the Intelligence of all passages in that Treaty betweene the Commissioners at London, and those resideing in the Armie, and the better to justifie that beleefe (though I suppose there will scarse be found anie so ignorant as to thinke they did not freely Communicate all things that related to a business of that vast Consideration). I doe well remember, that in one of Montreul's Letters to the King (dated from the Scotts Armie, and which His Majestie received before his going from Oxford) there was this Expression; that hee was confident all things would now have a happy Conclusion; for that the Chancellour of Scotland (Cheefe Commissioner at London) had given a meeting (about Northampton) to the Commissioners of the Armie, and had fully satisfied them in all particulars of the Treaty; a thing truly forgot to be urged by His Majestie and so the use thereof lost, though perhaps no other could have been made of it, but the improovement of their shame, and raising the horridness of their story to a greater height of infamie, who were absolutely resolv'd to make the best market of the Prize got into their hands.

But, whilst they were thus exercizeing their unnaturall Dominion over their Soveraigne, a Messenger was sent them for a Conference with the Commissioners from the Parliament, resideing in the English Army, which block'd up Newarke on the other side.

At which Meeting the English Commissioners (as I was inform'd by one who was present at the debate) desired that the Persons of His Majestie and my self (who only came with him) might bee delivered into their hands, which if they should refuse to doe, a charge would justly lye against them that wee were come thither by some privat invitation, and press'd hard the Separation that action would necessitate between the Two Nations, if anie such practize should bee discovered; but certainly the Scotts wanted not confidence to deny their knowledge thereof to them who had done the same to His Majestie before.

As to their delivery of His Majestie they told them, that though they could not in honour Consent to the giveing up of anie man, who came to them upon trust and Confidence as His Majestie had done, yet desired them to beleeve that His comeing thither should in no wise bee prejudiciall to the interest of either Nation, but rather an advantage to all they could promise to themselves: hopeing They should be better understood by the Parliament of England, than to conceave they had any hand in that Action, other than by such opportunities to worke the wished for designes of both Kingdomes in relation to Church and State.

Yet notwithstanding all the protestations they made of their ignorance of His Majestie's comeing to them, and their resolution to continue faithfull to the Parliament during His abode there, the English Commissioners parted with them altogether unsatisfied, which strooke no little Terror into the Scotts; insomuch, that at their Returne to the King, their discourse seemed to be of a more temperate Complexion, and their applications to carrie with them more Reverence than before; intimateing that probably when the Nobility of Scotland should meete with all their Commissioners, those things insisted upon by His Majestie to be the subject matter of the past Agreement, would then be thought fit to be consented to, and therefore propos'd to march speedily to Newcastle whither they were all to come; and that they might rise from the Siege with more honour and Securitie to themselves, they desir'd that His Majestie would send to the Lord Bellassis (then Governour of Newarke) to surrender that place to the English upon as Honourable Termes as they could obtaine, that whilst they were busied in receiveing the Towne, the Scots might have more leisure and less interruption in their march to Newcastle; concluding that if His Majestie would so doe, they would not be wanting in their Services to Him, when there should be occasion. Howbeit His Majestie well knew that the true ground of that proposition was their feares that the English would rise from the Siege of Newarke and followe them in the Reare; yet, upon the whole matter, this offer qualified somewhat the rigidness of their former Entertainments, though His Majestie continued still deepely sensible of the greate misfortune hee had drawne upon Himself in comeing thither; in the sad apprehension whereof Hee began to turne His thoughts another way, and to designe His remoove out of their hands, commanding mee, that if I had acquaintance with anie of the Commissioners from Parliament to take the opportunity of His sending to the Lord Bellassis to desire him that hee would procure mee a meeting with some of them, His Majestie resolveing if that were granted, to give mee authority to treate of His comeing to them upon Termes of Honour and Safety; which accordingly I did, nominating to the Lord Bellassis M^r^ William Pierrepont; but the Lord Bellassis told mee (for I got leave to speake with him when hee had obeyed His Majestie's commands of surrendring the Towne) that M^r^ Pierrepoint would by no meanes admitt of anie discourse with mee in the Condition I then stood, the Action of waiting on the King to the Scotts Armie rendring mee more obnoxious to the Parliament than anie man liveing, and so those thoughts of His Majestie's goeing over to the English vanished. How profitable they would have been to him if they had taken effect, or how differing the Close of His life would have been to that mournefull fate which afterwards befell Him, I am not able to judge. This only I am sure of, that more than probable meanes were laid for His Escape from the Scotts, and would have been put in execution if Ma^r Pierrepont would have conferr'd with mee, and have accepted of His Majestie's reasonable profer.

But that faileing, the King's last hopes were setled upon a full Convention at Newcastle, those persons in whose hands hee was, not being anie way inclin'd to His Restauration, for no sooner was their Armie two dayes march (in which time they had free'd themselves from the feare of anie further pursuite by the English Forces) but the Commissioners did resume their rude behaviour towards His Majestie.

Being come to Newcastle, His Majestie was mett by manie of the Nobility, and divers of the Assembly of the Kirke of Scottland, who had greate influence over all the Councells of the Nobilitie; these did acquaint His Majestie how necessarie it was (for the Peace of both Kingdomes) that Hee should grant the Nineteene Propositions: His Majestie told them Hee hoped they would consider the Artikles of Agreement upon which Hee was come to them; wherein it will appeare, that Hee was not to be press'd to anie thing which was either against His Conscience or Honour. They reply'd that they had no authority to speake to anie thing of that Agreement; they stood only charg'd with Instructions to obtaine from His Majestie a firme and lasting Peace, the only measure whereof was His full concession to the Propositions, and less than which they could not accept.

The King growing impatient at this pressure, and findeing the Commissioners appointed to reside in London (who only were parties to that Negotiation) not come, began to repeate the Conditions for His comeing to their Armie, signed by the French Agent on the part of the Crowne of France, to which Mr Secretarie Nicholas and myself were witnesses, and concluded, that if in all that transaction Hee was betrayed, nothing should make Him so much contribute to his further destruction as to conceale the Instruments thereof; and if Hee could doe no more than to discover them, Hee did not doubt but that God would in His good time doe the rest.

The French Agent being present did justifie, that what hee had done was by authoritie from the Crowne of France, and by particular power given him from the Scotts Commissioners at London (for so much Hee affirmed to His Majestie at Oxford);* and did not only make good all that the King had said, but added more: that if they would not performe the same, the

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* This justification of his conduct very much discountenances Hume's surmize (for which no authority is cited) that Montreuil, "having met with many general professions and promises, had "always transmitted them, *perhaps with some exaggeration,* to "the king."

Crowne of France would require it at their hands, that Crowne being equallie concerned with His Majestie in the violation of that Treatie.

But nothing could prevaile on them to lessen anie of their violent prosecution for the dispatch of the Propositions; in the debate whereof, there was no want of the most undutifull menaces that could be thought on, and, indeed, such as gave His Majestie some light, that they intended what they afterwards perfected,—the disposing His Person into the hands of the Parliament, rather than to assist Him in the Recoverie of His just Authoritie. But manie persons engaged in most of the disloyall Actions of that Nation have since proved good Converts, and redeemed all their Errors, by faithfull services and sufferings, and therefore they ought not to stand involved in anie Accompts for those Evells, since theire penitentsy and honourable behaviour hath so justly discharged them.

This pressure upon His Majestie continued all the time I waited on Him at Newcastle (which was about nine dayes), when the Earle of Callander came to Court and told mee, hee had then left the Councill in debate of disposeing mee according to the desires of Parliament, wherein they had with all importunity urged the sending mee to London with a safe guard; and the question being put for my deliverie, it was carried in the Negative only by one voice; but with this joint consent, that if the next Post (which they expected that night) should bring the continuation of the Parliament's desires in that point, they would no longer refuse them. When I had paid those thankes to his Lordshipp (which were as neare as I could proportionable to so greate a favour) I desired hee would acquaint His Majestie therewith, who then commanded mee to make my escape with all the speede I could. I besought him that Hee would rather suffer mee to be wrested from Him, than that of my self I should desert His service upon anie apprehension whatsoever. But His pleasure was so positive, that I should loose no time, as I had nothing left but my obedience to satisfie Him, so that His forraigne dispatches being closed, I did (with humble acknowledgements to God for the deliverance Hee then gave mee) passe into Holland; my servants, horses, and all I had being seiz'd upon within two houres after my flight: where being arrived, and haveing obeyed such *Instructions as I was intrusted with, I hast'ned into France, to give the Queene an Accompt of what had passed in that unhappy expedition to the Scotts,

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* What some of these instructions were, will appear in the warrant given as No. 4 of the king's letters to J. A.

who had the most passionate sense of His Majestie's misfortunes that was possible to bee seene. Shee commanded mee to waite on Cardinall Mazarine (who had the whole mannagerie of that business) to th'end that His Conception might be knowne, and further Resolutions taken as Hee should advise; which accordingly I did, and received from Him thus much,—that hee was sorry that *his* endeavours to serve the King of England had no better effect; that certainly nothing was more abhominable than that action of the Scotts, yet hee did not doubt but that both the Kings of France and England should bee repaired for the breach of their Faith, and that an Embassadour should instantly goe from thence to Newcastle with peremptorie Instructions to demand performance of these Artickles, *which were the grounds of the King's comeing to their Armie;* and that in the meane time Hee would endeavour the Peace with Spaine, and so be at libertie either to necessitate the Scotts to make that good which they had undertaken *by His sollicitation at their owne importunities,* or serve His Majestie by some other way.* It is true that an Embassadour was sent as the Cardinall had promised, but His Majestie's affaires were not in anie kind thereby advanced.

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* In this account of Ashburnham's interview with Mazarin nothing will be found to warrant Hume's allegation, rather than conjecture, that " *Montreville,* the French minister, interested " for the king, more by the natural sentiments of humanity,

And so I have done with all things that concerned His Majestie's journey to the Scotts, and the discharge of my duty therein, the naturall observation of the Narrative being, that the Money due from the Parliament to the Scotts, was the designe of divers in their Army inviteing His Majestie to them, and proved to bee the Price of His delivery to the Parliament.

" *than any instructions from his court, had solicited* the Scotch " generals and commissioners to give protection to their dis" tressed sovereign." On the contrary, the cardinal in his declaration seems less to approve and sanction, than to claim, as emanating from himself, every act of his accredited agent's negociation.

All the passages relating to Montreuil in this Narrative, will on comparison, tally with lord Clarendon's statement of the transaction; wherein is powerfully and feelingly shewn how this most honourable man, after having executed a task of great difficulty and importance with an observant fidelity, not surpassed by his generous zeal, fell a victim to the base, cruel, and (as it soon proved) ineffectual attempt of a crafty and unprincipled statesman to conceal his perfidious duplicity. (See Clarendon's History, vol. v. p. 383.)

Not manie moneths after the Queene was pleased to command my service into Holland,[*] about some particular affaires of her owne; which when I had performed, I returned into France, where I mett the Newes of His Majestie's being taken from Holmby by some of the Armie without Order of Parliament, and that the Armie had given libertie to His Majestie (as an earnest of their true Intentions to reinvest Him in His lawfull Rights) to send and receive letters, and to have what servants about Hee pleased.

Amongst others His Majestie thought fitt to command my attendance; and haveing the Queene's and Prince's consent, and their Instructions in some things which were not proper for His Majestie to appeare in, I return'd into England, where I met with the Lord Fairfax his Pass for my Protection. But before I was admitted to wait on His Majestie, Collonell Whaley (who had the Command of the Guards about Him) required mee to give pledge of my Faith and Honour that His Majestie should not depart by my Contrivance out of their hands without their privity, to which I submitted; and when I had acquainted the King therewith, Hee sent for Coll. Whaley, and profered His word likewise to be engaged upon the same termes; so confident His Majestie then was that their behaviour towards Him would be such, as Hee should never have occasion to desert them.

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[*] In a letter dated Nov^{r} $\frac{20}{30}$, 1646, from St. Germain, the queen writes to the king—"I have appointed l^{d} Jermyn and "l^{d} Culpeper (for I. A. is immediately to goe to the Haghe,— "the jewels will otherwise be lost,—and to setle a friendship "between P. C.[†] and P. of O.) to Car: Maz:,[‡] and to take his "opinion, &c. &c." Clarendon's State Papers, vol. ii. p. 298.

[†] Prince Charles and the Prince of Orange.

[‡] Cardinal Mazarin.

And now I cannot proceed anie further (for it is the tragicall part of my life) without makeing greate moane and bewaileing the miserie of my fate, that I should be called to doe my dutie to the best of Kings in His lowest Ebbe of Condition; when there was not one man in all His Dominions, that though Hee had the will, had any power to appeare in His service; when nothing of the least advantage to His recovery could be obtain'd, but by the wariest and most painefull way of sollicitation, least anie umbrage might be taken even at desireing those things which were but pertinent to His livelyhood; when it was never offer'd to His Majestie to make choise of anie one thing which might in some Respect be profitable to His affaires; but which of the manie

Evells Hee would accept was that, which was most constantly set before Him.

When the persons in whose hands His Majestie was, were the most barbarous, most bloodie and most faithless of all the whole race of man-kind; and when invincible necessity (in regard of their power) enforced an application to them, anie address to anie other, being then accompted no less than Frenzy.

In this mournfull plight I found His Majestie at Woobourne, in Treaty with M^r^ Cromwell and M^r^ Ireton, and some other Officers of the Armie; the Subject matters of their discourse being certaine Proposalls (afterwards in print, under the Title of the Proposalls of the Armie), and because they pretended that their Employments were of an active nature, and requir'd such diligence as they could not give their constant attendance on His Majestie; as likewise to satisfy the King's impatience to improove the uncertaine and perplexed condition of His business, Hee was pleased to command Sir John Berkley and my self to gaine from them what moderation wee could, in those things then in debate betweene them, according to such Instructions as His Majestie gave to us; and to use our best endeavours to fasten their affections to His Majestie's perfect

Restauration by profers of advantages to themselves, and by fullfilling their utmost expectations in anie thing relateing to their owne privat interest, or that of anie of their friends, whom they would involve in the worke of His Re-establishment, which was indeed also one of the particulars given mee in charge by Her Majestie and the Prince.

This was mannaged with the best industry and skill wee were capable of, and for the space of twenty dayes (or thereabouts) not without some hopes of success.

At which time (as the condicion of the Armie stood) the reputation they had acquired by their compliance with His Majestie (the end thereof being generally conceived to be their greate zeale to peace) was the best foundation they had to worke upon; but the differences growing high betweene the Parliament and Armie, and the Citty of London adhereing to the Parliament, it was resolved by the Armie to march up to London, and take such fortune, as the influence of such a power, would have upon either or both of them.

At this instant Cromwell and Ireton did expect His Majestie's consent to their Proposalls as they were moderated by themselves, which was hastned with all possible expedition, it being then under the care of some of His Majestie's faithfullest

Councell at Law, and some others of eminentest integrity, who were all verie diligent in preparing it, according to the instructions given them by the King, and in pursuite of the Agreement on both parts (the King's negative voice, and some other of the severest points in the Proposalls being struck out). But the same day it was finished (the Concessions being neare what they themselves did desire) the Armie was marched to Brainford, whither the Citty had sent some of their Corporation to make all imaginable submission, and the Speaker with a verie considerable number of the Members who had deserted the Parliament came to Sion, and offered conjunction with them, to the utmost extent of life and fortune, which was an issue of that Action verie much above the thoughts of the Armie, and which made them to looke on themselves as much more formidable than before, and much less consider His Majestie or His interest; insomuch as when wee came to Syon, with His Majestie's Answeare, Coll. Deane told mee privatly, from them, (for neither Cromwell nor Ireton would speake with us) that they feared the Armie would now be of another temper, there being then manie other considerable men added to their Councills, who perhaps might scruple the good they intended the King; yet they would use the best meanes they could to bring them all over to their judgements, their aime being still to preserve His Majestie in His just authority. But most certainly they did designe the event of that march to be their measure of serveing or abandoning the King; so that if a strong opposition had been made, and that they had been mett from London by a greater power than their owne, they would have placed His Majestie at the head of their Armie, and given free admission to all of His Partie; but if they should improove their prosperitie upon any other score, they would have the less use of His Majestie's interest to support them.

Their worke being thus farre done, the Army marched through London, disposing of all things with no less freedom and ease, than men doe usually in places brought under subjection by an uncontrouleable power, and indeed it was no small credit which that victorie gave to theire Affaires; the newes whereof being brought to the King, His prophetick conception was, that nothing did presage more mischeefe to Him than that vast increase of their authority, which in few dayes after did in some measure begin to appear: for being commanded by His Majestie to desire from Cromwell and Ireton that Hee might remoove from Stoake to one of His owne Houses, they told mee (with verie severe Countenances) Hee should goe if Hee pleased to Oatlands; but that they had mett with sufficient proof that the King had not only abetted and fomented the differences betweene them and their Enemies, by commanding all His Partie to take Conditions under the (then) Parliament and Citty, but that likewise Hee had (at that instant) a Treatie with the Scotts, when Hee made greatest profession to close with them; for the justification of which, they affirmed that they had both His and the Queene's letters to make it good, which were greate allayes to their thoughts of serveing him, and did verie much justifie the generall misfortune Hee lived under of haveing the reputation of little faith in His dealings: a scandall rais'd by themselves the better to support and gaine advantage to their horrid designes. I told them, that it was no hard thing for them, when their inclinations to His Majestie did grow faint, to forme objections which in appearance might bee strong enough to prevent anie further progress in the Treatie, then depending betweene them, and so to desert the King with plausible reasons on their parts, and blame on his, for not consenting to what was just and equall in order to the publick peace; but I would presume so much upon His Majestie's innocency in both those Points, as if they would produce the proofs upon which those Informations were grounded, and that they shall from thence appeare to be cleare, His Majestie should quitt His Expectations, not onlie of being restored by their meanes, but from receaveing anie advantage what ever from them; so strongly was I perswaded that they could not fasten upon the King the least Colour of truth in that Charge.

But so little dutie they bare to His Majestie, and their wicked subtilty was such, when they had no use of Him, how industrious, and how diligent they would be to discover the least Crooke or Crannie that might most worke his prejudice; and againe, when His Majestie's intereste was at anie time necessarie to the promotion of their power, what insinuations, what Addresses, and what applications they would make to obtaine it, is a thing past all beleefe.

Whilst His Majestie was at Oatlands, they seemed verie busie in takeing away the power of their Enemies (the Presbyterean Partie in the House of Commons) and particularly in impeaching the Eleaven Members, which served them for some excuse why they did not proceede in those services they had promised to the King; Cromwell also then desireing that this positive resolution in him might bee patiently relyed upon (which hee often repeated) that if the Armie did continue an Armie, they would restore the King.

Some of the cheefest of the impeach'd Members being fledd, and that new Victorie obtained, they were then at leisure to consider their solemne promises to His Majestie: and in order thereunto, did acquaint the House of Commons with the proposalls they had tendred to the King, desireing that they might bee the ground of a Treaty with Him and both Houses, not dareing (as they pretended) to avow the Close of the former Treaty thereupon with themselves. But whither Cromwell and Ireton did (under hand) labour the rejecting of them, that they might bee disengaged, and so to have a good pretence to desert the further consideration of His Majestie, being then got to the greatest height they could hope to arrive at; or whither they did faithfully intend, what they at that time perswaded the King to beleeve, I was not then positively able to say, so many shewes and expressions of their Reallities they would still intermingle in their discourses.

However so it happened that the Proposalls were rejected by the Houses, and instead thereof, the debate of sending againe the Nineteene Propositions were re-sum'd; than which nothing seem'd more prejuditiall to His Majesty and His affaires. Yet even then likewise, Cromwell and

Ireton desir'd that the King would not bee discouraged, for they would never give over their thoughts of serveing Him although there were but Six men of the whole Armie to stand to them; they would dispute the King's interest to the utmost of their lives and fortunes, rather than bee so enslav'd by the Parliament; and that if Hee pleased, Hee should goe to Hampton Court, and the Head Quarters should bee at Putney, where there would be opportunity of more frequent Intelligence. Which being done the Armie hearkned diligently after the Results of the Councill of Warr, whereunto a sort of men called Agitators being admitted, tooke upon them to be advisers of the publicke Good, and therein travell'd into the whole cause of the breach betweene His Majestie and the Two Houses of Parliament, beleeveing it proper for them to direct what was necessarie to bee done thereupon. These men (whither by Connivence or privat Encouragement from their superior Officers, or whither they were troubled to see the King should treate with so small a number of the Armie, and that thereby if anie good should happen to Him, that all the rest would be forgotten in the distribution of Rewards) did at all their meetings most violently call for justice upon the King for the innocent blood (they pretended) Hee had spilt; insomuch, that they caused the Nineteene Propositions to be sodainely sent to the King at Hampton Court, as a thing that would soonest put an end to the Consideration of the Proposalls, and consequently to the Treatie. But Cromwell and Ireton seeming discontented at the scorne the Houses cast upon the Proposalls, wished they might see His Majestie's answeare to the Nineteene Propositions before it went to the Houses, which the King was the rather inclined to doe, in regard it might engage them the more to insist upon the Proposalls (the best of all the Evells offered to Him) to bee the medium for a Peace; and after His answeare was framed, Hee sent it to them to peruse, who directed some alterations to bee made, and promis'd all the furtherance they could give it when it should come to the House.

But so ill a Reception had it there as nothing ever had a worse, and the mis-understanding betweene His Majestie and the Two Houses, was by soe much the greater, by how much that answeare did less rhellish than they expected, which Cromwell and Ireton made use of to with-draw themselves by degrees from the freedome of their wonted discourses of His Majestie's Recoverie.

Whether it was, that they conspir'd with the rest to lay Him aside, or that reallie and truly they had discovered a greater power than their owne risen in opposition to them both in Parliament and Armie, I could not then judge, but findeing this visible change, I used all diligence to seeke out their resolutions as to the King's business, to the end Hee might make a judgement of what was the next best, in case those persons with whom Hee had treated should desert him; and speakeing with one of the Officers of the Army to that purpose hee told mee, that Coll. Rich had that day inform'd him, that Cromwell had made a long discourse to him of the happy Condition the people of this kingdome would be in if the Government under which they in Holland liv'd were setled heere. This wrought so powerfully with mee, as I hastned with all expedition to acquaint His Majestie with that passage, to the end that Hee might thinke of some other way more likely to promote His recoverie: the vizards of these men seeming now to be ill set on, if not altogether taken of. Yet that it was most necessary to continue a faire correspondence with them, and not to lessen (in appearance) His beleefe of their good intentions towards Him, the sole authoritie of the Kingdome, and His sacred person being in their hands. At which His Majestie for a while seem'd troubled, but after some recollection said, that Hee was not altogether surpriz'd, for that Hee had alwayes had some secrett hints in His thoughts, that they never design'd anie reall service to Him, but made use of His Interest to advance their owne, which lay some other way than by His Restauration; yet beleeved it fitt I should speedily speake with Cromwell and Ireton, and endeavour to draw them to a period of what His Majestie might expect from them. And when I had well observ'd my instructions, I repaired to them, and found them at so greate a distance to what formerlie they appear'd to bee in relation to His Majestie's good, as I was then clearely confirm'd that there was no more to be hoped from them, unless pure necessity by an absolute breach with the Parliament enforc'd them. Whereupon the King resolved to advertize the Queene and His Councill with Her, of the Change of His Affaires, that all might consider what was most proper to be done therein.

In the meane time Hee commanded mee to find some good occasion to withdraw my word, which was engag'd for His Majestie's not departing out of their hands without their privity, which accordingly I did, giveing this Reason, that the multiplicitie of Scotts about the Court was such, and the Agitators in the Armie so violently set against the King, as (for ought I knew) either partie might as well take Him from Hampton Court, as some others did from Holmby, and that I was not obliged to hazard my life for one or other; though truly I apprehended neither, but thought them the best pretences I could make in obeying His Majestie in that point; and for that cause, and for the plaine language I used to Cromwell at my last being with him, which was to the full of what became mee in discharge of my dutie, I was the next day dismiss'd from my attendance upon the King; and the Guards being placed that night so neare His Majestie's Chamber that they disturbed His repose, Hee complained to Coll. Whaley of that rudeness, and told Him that His word should no longer oblige Him to continue with them, for where His word was given there ought to be no Guards about Him.

Not manie dayes after M^r Legg came to mee from His Majestie (for Hee onlie was permitted to continue still neare Him), and told mee that His Majestie was resolv'd to escape from Hampton Court, and commanded mee to contrive it for Him; to which I did most readily submitt, and promised to doe my dutie therein; but desir'd to know whether Hee intended to goe: hee reply'd His Majestie left that thought to mee. I told him that was too hard a burden for mee to undertake; but if hee would get the King's consent to impart it to Sir John Berkeley, wee would offer Him our opinions next morning. M^r Legg told mee it was

His Majestie's positive pleasure that *Sir John Berkeley should not be acquainted with His escape. Yet in regard hee was sent over by the Queene, and that I was verie doubtfull of my owne judgement in so weighty a matter, and for that hee was so constantly with mee, that I could not well avoid him, I did (verie presumptuously I confess) send the King word that hee ought to have the knowledge of that business, and I would be responsible for him. The next day Mr Legg came to know what our sense was upon His Majestie's Remoove. I did againe aske him whether the King had yet thought of anie place to go to. Hee told us that Hee inclin'd to go beyond the seas, and for his part hee supposed Jersey a proper place for Him. I reply'd that I would willingly wait on Him to what place Hee pleas'd, but His deserting the Kingdome would (in my judgement) proove very disadvantageous to His affaires, not only as a thing scarce practicable in regard of the sodaine pursuite would bee made after Him, and the *preparation of a vessell to transport Him, being a worke of more time than could bee allowed,*†

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* Lord Clarendon says that "Berkeley was little known to "the king; and that little not without some prejudice."

† Lord Clarendon in his character of sir J. Berkeley says— "this gentleman and John Ashburnham, the latter of whom the "king had entrusted to provide a ship for him to transport him "beyond the sea: but by what accident was not known, there

such Cautions being to be used for the obtaining of it, as His Majestie's Condition did require; but also, that it would make desperate all His Partie, and leave the whole dominion to His Enemies, who in His absence might possibly finde some more reasonable pretence to governe the Kingdome by the Parliament Hee had setled, than they could have if Hee continued in it; besides Hee would find all the parts so engag'd in the preservation of what related to their owne Interest, as there would bee little or no hopes of returning with anie forraine Supplyes, as some of His predecessors had formerly done.

Upon these Reasons, I rather thought it fitt for the King to designe some action at home, though it should carry with it never so visible a face of danger; and therefore *I would* (since Hee was pleased to command it) *take the freedome to offer to His consideration the trying whither the Scotts Commissioners* (who were then at Hampton Court, and had made severall overtures of their Service)

" was no ship ready, &c."—Is it known by what accident this very notable fact was made known to the most authentic, and therefore conscientious, of all historians? It certainly was not from having read the " relation" of his friend, and Ashburnham's enemy, Berkeley.

Many extracts from Berkeley's Memoir have been given in the Vindication prefixed to this Narrative. The whole of it will be inserted in the Appendix, in order that the two Accounts may be the more fairly compared.

would meete His Majestie the next day at the Lord Maior's house in London (whither I would undertake to carry Him), and there declare their whole Nation to be satisfied with the King's last Answeare to the Propositions delivered to Him at Hampton Court, and to endeavour to make all the Presbyterian partie in the Cittie (over whom they had then a strange influence) to acquiesce in that Answeare; and that being done, that His Majestie would instantly send to the House of Peeres to make the like offer, with this addition, that if the things therein contained would not satisfie them, Hee would come in person to the House, and with reservation of His Conscience and Honour, would give them all other imaginable Contentment.

By which attempt (I supposed) His Majestie would have the full experience of the Houses and Citties affections, the opportunity of declaring themselves being so verie good, in regard the Armie (against the Proceedings whereof they both seemed averse) could not bee drawne together in tenne dayes at the soonest, so verie distant from London were their Quarters; and in case that attempt should not succeed, Hee had then discharged all that could be expected from Him, and I should better carry Him from London beyond the Seas, than from anie other place, haveing then so much time to provide for it: *but withall I desired that nothing of this might bee done, unless the Scotts Commissioners would doe their parts:*[*] *for indeed, one of the principall ends in that Proposition was, to engage that Nation in such a publick Action, as they could have no colour left them to desert His Majestie any more. That either they should have prosper'd and had a verie remarkable part in His Restauration, and the Rewards justly due to their meritts, or have runne the same fortune the King had done, whereby a certaine foundation (in case of miscarriage) would have been laid for a faithfull conjunction betweene His Majestie and them.* When this was delivered to the King, Hee sent instantly for the Scotts Commissioners, and imparted it to them, who (as His Majestie after told mee) joyned fully in the approbation thereof, and were so much satisfied with the designe, as the Lord Lanarick did affirme that in his judgement His Majestie had never anie thing in view since the beginning of

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[*] "Mr. Ashburnham had so great a detestation of the Scots "that he expected no good from their fraternity, the presby- "terians of the city; and did really believe that, if his majesty "should put himself into their hands, as was advised by many, "with a purpose that he should there be concealed, till some "favourable conjuncture should offer itself, the security of such "an escape was not to be relied on: *and very earnestly dissuaded "his master from entertaining the thought of it.*" Clarendon's History of the Rebellion.

His troubles that was so likely to doe His worke as what was then proposed. Breefly they did unanimously agree that they would doe their parts, if the King would put in practize His owne; only at their takeing leave of His Majestie they desired they might have liberty till the next morning to thinke of some Circumstances (not that they could adde anie thing to the Substance of the Proposition) which might happily conduce to the more certaine effecting the ends thereof; but when they came the next day to close all, they did (to His Majestie's greate amazement) retract what formerly they had so cheerefully consented to, excuseing themselves upon the defect of their power to undertake so weighty a business without the knowledge and command of the Estates of Scotland; as likewise that it would bee too hazardous an Accompt both for His Majestie and them: yet they hansomely offered to waite upon Him in the utmost dangers as private persons, but could not doe it as publick ministers. And that very day Sir John Berkeley likewise withdrew his judgement from the designe of the King's going to London (notwithstanding that hee had engag'd his Faith and Honour to joine with mee and M^r Legg in that Accompt, or perish in it), alledgeing the greate danger that thereby might happen to His Majestie's Person, and the little probabilitie of success; not well considering His Majestie's miserable condicion at that present time, being then confin'd to His chamber, and frequently advertised (by persons of good affection to Him) that there was some privat practise upon His life,* particularly M^r Ackworth inform'd His Majestie that Collonell Rainsborough was resolved to kill Him, and offer'd to proove it by two witnesses, that there was nothing that could be thought on in order to His preservation that would not carry danger with it,† both to the King and those that endeavour'd to serve Him in it.

This was matter of no small wonder to mee, to find him start from a business of that greate concernment, especiallie when it was to be put in execution the next day; though I am more than confident that it did not proceed from anie unworthy or faithless apprehension. But Ma^r Legg return'd to us and commanded us from His Majestie to propose some other place for Him to goe to, for Hee was resolved to stay no longer at Hampton Court: *I did then* (calling to mind what Coll. Hammond had said to mee some few dayes before, meeting Him upon the Roade to London, that "hee was going downe to his "Government, because hee found the Armie was "resolv'd to breake all promises with the King, "and that hee would have nothing to doe with "such perfidious actions;" as likewise what had passed betweene the King and the Scotts Commissioners, and betweene mee and Sir John Berkeley in their dissent from His Majestie's goeing to London) *unfortunately (in regard of the success, not of the ill choise of the place) offer to their thoughts *Sir John Oglander's house in the*

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* "The king every day received little billets or letters se-"cretly conveyed to him without any name, which advertised "him of wicked designs upon his life:—many who repaired to "him brought the same advice from men of unquestionable "sincerity."

† "The making an escape, if it were not contrived with "wonderful sagacity, would expose him to be assassinated by "pretended ignorance, and charged upon himself." History of the Rebellion, vol. v. p. 487.

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* That the manuscript Narrative submitted to the chancellor's inspection was the same as that which, now for the first time printed, is here presented to the publick, reasons have been given in proof at page 157 of the first volume of this Vindication. The noble historian, whose scrupulous authenticity is not to be questioned, having premised that he had not only read Ashburnham's relation, but conferred at large with him on the subject, *positively asserts* that "Mr. Ashburnham did constantly "deny that he had any thought of the Isle of Wight when the "King left Hampton Court."

At page 160 of the aforesaid volume it has been shewn that there was no cause for Ashburnham's wishing to deny his ever having had this thought; that even, if he had had the wish, he had deprived himself of all power to deny it; and that in point of fact he never did deny it.

It is scarcely possible to contend that lord Clarendon should never have seen, or heard of Ashburnham's letter, printed and

Isle of Wight; where His Majestie might continue conceal'd till Hee had gain'd the experience of the Governour's inclinations to serve Him, which if good, that place would secure Him certainly from the feares of anie private Conspiracie

published in 1648; (especially after having "conferred at large" on the subject with the author of it;) in which (as the reader has seen) he avows, and justifies the king's determination by the very same arguments which are here insisted on. Yet is it never alluded to by his lordship; nor is it to be found among those state papers which (filling three folio volumes) are said to "contain the materials, from which the History of the great "Rebellion was composed; and the authorities, *on which the "truth of his relation* is founded,"

It must be acknowledged that among *such* authorities *as these* Ashburnham's letter could not with propriety have been included.

There is however another letter of the groom of the bedchamber's, which the chancellor has deign'd to admit in his collection of state papers; and which, in the absence of better vouchers, may be regarded as of sufficient authority for the truth of the illustrious historian's relation, where he says, that between Culpeper (to whom the letter is addressed) and Ashburnham there was "an entire confidence and friendship."

But there is also a letter subsequently written by the lord Culpeper to his friend; which commencing thus—"I again "most earnestly entreat you to bend all your wit to advance the "Scotch treaty. . . . . . If you can make the Scots your friends "upon any honest terms, do it"—is better authority for the truth of J. A's. relation, than for that of lord Clarendon's, as to whether the former advised, or dissuaded, the king's trusting himself to the Scotch commissioners.

It is in fairness to be observed that the date of this letter is February, 1646.

Both these letters, as on many accounts not irrelevant to the purpose of this publication, will be given in the Appendix.

of the Agitators at Putney (the principall end of His Remoove,) there being then no Soldiers of the Armie in that Island; keepe intelligence with the Armie if by anie accident they should resume their desires of serveing Him (His flight from thence being liable to no other interpretation than to save His life); hold up the droopeing hearts of His owne Partie; give opportunitie to the Scotts or the Houses of Parliament, (both being then highly in opposition to the Armie) to make some further application to His Majestie, and bee more in readiness there, than in anie other part of the Kingdome, to receave advantage by the Fleete, if at anie time the Sea-men should returne to their duties. But if no Conditions could be had from the Governour His Majestie would be then close by the water-side, and might (when there should be no Argument left for His stay) take boate and dispose of His person into what part beyond the Seas Hee pleased.

To this Proposition Sir John Berkeley did once more fully concurre, and then M^r Legg hastned (for wee had but very little time for us to debate anie thing, so pressing, and so impatient was the King to bee gone) to give an Accompt what had passed amongst us; and to desire His Majestie (if Hee did approove of it) that Hee would bee pleased (because it was almost impossible to adjust all circumstances belonging to His escape without speakeing with him) to come (in the evening) into the Gallerie, whither Sir John Berkeley and I would finde meanes to gaine access to Him. When wee came, I told His Majestie, that M^r^ Legg had deliver'd His pleasure to us, to provide for His goeing from thence, and wee were verie readie to obey him; but I did most humbly begg of Him, that *Hee would bee pleased to say whither really and in verie deede Hee was afraid of His life in that place,* for His goeing from thence seemed to us an occasion of a verie great change in His affaires.

*His Majesty protested to GOD, that Hee had greate cause to apprehend some attempt upon His Person, and did expect everie houre when it should bee.** I reply'd, that it did not then become us to make anie further enquiry, but to apply ourselves to the discharge of our duties, and therefore if His Majestie would bee pleased to say whither Hee would goe, wee would carry Him thither, or loose ourselves in the endeavour of it.

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* "It is true that they both (B. and A.) writ apologies or "narrations of all that had passed in that affair; in which there "was *not any clear relation of any probable inducement that prevailed with the king to undertake that journey.* I have read "both their relations, and conferred with them both at large to "*discover in truth what the motives might be, which led to so fatal "an end.*" *(!!!)* Hist. of the Rebellion.

The King told us that Hee had some thoughts of going out of the Kingdome, but for the shortness of the time to prepare a Vessell to transport Him, and *for the other Reasons I had sent Him by Maj^{r} Legg,** *Hee was resolved to goe to the Isle of Wight,* and the manner of His escape being then agree'd on wee left Him, and the next night Hee performed His part, and wee ours.

Being come by morning within less than twenty miles of the Island, His Majesty called us all to Him, and said that his minde was changed (in probabilitie verie unfortunately) for Hee would not goe into the Isle untill Hee knew how the Governour would receave Him, and therefore commanded Sir John Berkeley and my self to goe to him, and to try what Conditions wee could get from him; and if wee found him unwilling to receave Him, that then wee should endeavour to procure a Barque to transport Him; in the mean time Hee would goe to Titchfield (the Earle of Southampton's House) where wee should find Him if wee did returne in anie reasonable time. At this alteration I found my self in a greate streight, not being willing to refuse the King's Command, nor in anie kind desirous to leave Him, for that above all other things appeared hardest to mee to be comply'd with, haveing never quitted His Person from the very beginning of His troubles, (my escape from Newcastle by His owne Command, when the Scotts would have delivered mee up to the Parliament only excepted); but His Majestie concluded it to bee absolutely best for His Service, and wee submitted; so Hee took Ma^r Legg with Him,* and Sir John Berkeley and I went into the Isle of Wight, where being arriv'd and meeting with the Governour I desir'd Sir John Berkeley to acquaint him with the reason of our comeing to him, who then asked the Governour who hee thought was verie neare him? he said hee knew not; Sir John Berkeley reply'd, even good King Charles, who was come from Hampton Court for feare of being murder'd privatly. This was (to speake modestly) a verie unskilfull entrance into our business, nothing being to bee preserv'd with greater secresy from him, than that the King was come from Hampton Court, our pretence naturally being to have return'd thither with his answeare, to the end that His Majestie might have made a judgement of Hammond's Resolution at His owne leisure, which of necessity Hee must have done, if Sir John Berkeley had not discover'd that the King was so neare him. At the first the Governour seemed very much discomposed, but after some pause, desired to know what His Majestie would expect from him. I told him to preserve him in honour and safetie so as became his dutie to the Peace of the Nation, by a happie reconciliation betweene Him and the Parliament and Army; so hee desir'd wee would dine with him, and hee would thinke further of what wee had propos'd, professing to be verie willing to serve the King. By this invitation Sir John Berkeley and I got opportunity to conferr, and concluded, that in regard His Majestie was in greate danger to be taken where Hee was, it was necessarie wee should shorten the worke with the Governour, by desireing his positive answeare to this question, Whither hee would deliver His Majestie to the Parliament or Armie, in case they should desire unreasonable things from Him (such as are altogether repugnant to His Conscience and Honour) and Hee shall refuse to grant them? At which hee made some hesitation, and said hee would consider what satisfaction was fitt for him to give us in that point, and soone after Sir John

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* "Yet Mr. A. did constantly deny that he ever had any "thought of the Isle of Wight, when the king left Hampton "Court."

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* "Upon this disappointment the king thought it best—to "go to Tichfield.—*There* he refreshed himself, and *consulted* "*with his three servants.*—In *this* debate the Isle of Wight "*came to be mentioned* (as they say) by Ashburnham." Hist. of the Rebellion.

Berkeley and hee debateing that question by themselves, hee cheerefullie profer'd this ensueing Engagement to His Majestie.

THAT SINCE IT APPEARED HIS MAJESTIE CAME FROM HAMPTON COURT TO SAVE HIS LIFE, IF HEE PLEASED TO PUT HIMSELF INTO HIS HANDS WHATEVER HEE COULD EXPECT FROM A PERSON OF HONOUR OR HONESTIE, HIS MAJESTIE SHOULD HAVE IT MADE GOOD BY HIM.

Wherewith when Sir John Berkeley had acquainted mee, we considered whither our accepting those Conditions for the King, were not the fullfilling of our Instructions, there being contained in the profer as much as wee could hope for, His Majestie being the Judge of what was honorable and honest, especially setting still before us the sad apprehensions wee had of the King's being pursued and taken before wee could get to Him (this passage being of greate use if that should happen) wee both concluded in the affirmative, and told the Governour wee did approove of the profer hee had made, and would repaire to His Majestie to give Him an Accompt of it, who wee beleeved would be speedily with him. Hee then proposed to Sir John Berkeley that one of us should stay with him till the other did returne, wherewith Sir John Berkeley acquainted mee, and offered himself to stay, which I did not much dispute, as well because I thought that part least dangerous (signifieing only a man's drawing his necke out of the Collar), as for that I did beleeve myself most usefull to His Majestie in case Hee had taken up anie other Resolution, well knowing all the sea coasts in that county. Whilst wee were agreeing which of us should stay, the Governour came to us and said, hee would adde thus much, that if wee would let him know where the King was, hee would go himself and deliver the same thing to His Majestie as hee had done to us; but wee both resolv'd not to tell him the particular place: yet I presently laid hold of his goeing to the King, and was very glad of that motion, there being no better salve (in my understanding) for the difficulty which only rested with mee, which was that His Majestie would not bee at libertie to doe anie thing else, in case Hee should not approove of what was tendred to Him, the Governour haveing then the knowledge of His being come from Hampton Court, and not farr from him, would certainly have sent Spies with either of us, and so have beene sure to have seized Him, if Hee should have taken anie other Course; and by his goeing I conceived a good expedient was offered to put into His Majestie's power to dispose of Himself anie other way, if Hee liked not to goe to the Isle of Wight upon those Conditions.

The Governour then takeing with him the Captaine of Cowes Castle, and their two servants (for I refused to stirr if they would take Soldiers with them, as Sir John Berkeley told mee hee had propos'd) wee embarqued, and were together till wee came to Titchfield Towne, where I desired to go before to the Lord of Southampton's (where I then told him the King was) and acquaint His Majestie with what had passed, and with my Resolution to give Him his election in disposeing His person. When I had made the whole relation to the King, Hee was pleased to say (with a very severe and reserved Countenance, the first of that kinde to mee), that notwithstanding that Engagement, Hee verily beleeved the Governour would make Him a Prisoner. I presumed to tell Him (though with the saddest heart that certainly ever anie man had) that I was sure His Instructions were fully obey'd, they being to try what Conditions wee could get for Him; but since what was done did not please Him, I was happy that I had provided an Expedient; soe that if Hee would say what other course Hee would steere, I would take order that the Governour should not interrupt Him; His Majestie ask'd mee how that could possibly bee, since the Governour was come with us? I answear'd, that his comeing made anie other way more practicable than if hee had stayed behind. Hee then told mee, that Hee had sent to Hampton for a Vessell, to transport Him into France, and was in good hope to bee supply'd, and that Hee expected Newes of it everie moment, but verie earnestly pressed to know how I would cleare Him of the Governour; I answeared that I was resolved and prepared to kill him and the Captaine with my owne hands.

His Majestie walkeing some few turnes in the Roome, and (as Hee was afterwards pleased to tell mee) weighing what I had propos'd to Him, and considering that if the shipp should not come, it would not bee manie houres before some (in pursuance of Him) would seize Him, the consequence whereof Hee verie much apprehended, resolved Hee would not have Execution done upon the Governour, for Hee intended to accept of what hee had profer'd and to goe with him, and therefore commanded hee should bee called up, Sir John Berkeley being not yet come to the King.

When the Governour came into the King's presence, hee declar'd the same Engagement, and much more to Him than hee had done to us, which His Majestie accepted, desireing him to remember, that Hee was to bee Judge of what was honourable and honest.

After two houres stay more (in which time no newes at all came of the shipp, nor indeed was it probable there could be anie, for that verie night the Report of His Majestie's departure from Hampton Court was come to Southampton, and orders to the Maior of that Place to shut that Port, and to send the like orders to the Governour of the Isle of Wight, which letter the Governour shewed mee the next morning verie earlie, so that I suppose it verie cleare, that nothing was less hopefull than a Barque from thence, to have transported His Majestie, (however that objection hath been so frequently made) His Majestie tooke boate and went to the Isle of Wight.

Where being come Hee had for a while all the satisfaction from the Governour which that place could affoord (His flight from Hampton Court being understood by Parliament and Armie to carry greate innocencie with it). But not long after the greate differences betweene the Parliament and Armie were reconciled, and then that detestable villaine (the Governour) began to use His Majestie with greate irreverence, which caused the King to resume His designe of goeing to the Queene, (His passion in the thoughts thereof being superior to all other things) for the effecting whereof Hee was pleased to propose to mee His escape from thence: I told Him that was a happy Command for mee, and the thing in the world I had most long'd for, in regard that if the success of His comeing thither should prove ill, *Hee would still remember*[*] *I propos'd that place to Him,* and therefore would instantly apply myself to what was His pleasure in that particular; and to the way of His escape I desir'd His Majestie to write to the *Queene* to send with all speede a French Vessell to Southampton with some native Commodities of that Countrie, with directions to the Master to obey my orders, *which was* [†]*discreetly perform'd;* and all other things necessarie to that worke being prepared and adjusted, I told His Majestie if Hee pleased to goe, I did not doubt but carry Him away without interruption. The King with greate joy ranne to the window to see how the wind stood by the fane, and findeing it perfectly faire, made all hast to draw on His bootes, (for Hee had libertie then to ride abroad), and being readie to goe out of His Chamber, Hee turn'd againe to looke upon the fane, when so fatall a mischeefe did attend Him, as it was changed at that instant cleane contrary, and continued so for six dayes together, so as the Barque could not stirr; at the end of which time Commissioners were sent from the Parliament to His Majestie to gaine His consent to the foure Bills, against which the Scotts Commissioners (being likewise present) did make a publicke Protestation, and privatly made new offers to the King, with strong reasons to perswade him to accept them.

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[*] "Yet Mr. A. did constantly deny," &c. &c. Hist. of the Rebellion.

[†] This seems to have been the only instance of her majesty's co-operation to facilitate the king's escape.

His Majestie totallie despaireing of anie good either by Parliament or Armie (they being then united) and in hopes to get into France, from whence Hee might waite advantages by the promised Army from Scotland, most heartily embraced the Treaty with the Scotts Commissioners, and came in two dayes to a conclusion of all things; nothing being desired of the King but that as manie of His English subjects as were willing to take the Covenant might doe it, without being liable to punishment for it, but on their parts all imaginable Supplies that the Kingdome of Scotland could affoord towards the restoreing His Majestie to His just Rights were undertaken.

And when His Majestie had deliver'd His Answeare to the foure Bills, which was (upon the whole matter negative) layeing the ground thereof to be, the incapacity Hee was then in, to comprize all interests in the setling of a Peace, since the Scotts Commissioners had protested against those Bills which the Parliament beleeved to be the only measure of their satisfaction. At which the English Commissioners and the Governour were so enraged against Sir John Berkeley, M^{r} Legg and *myself, (beleeveing then absolutely that there was some Agreement made betweene the King and the Scotts, and that wee* had been instrumentall* in the deniall His Majestie gave the foure Bills) as the same day the English Commissioners went away, wee were all remooved from our attendance on His Majestie.

Soe that I could not bee longer active in the business of contriveing the King's escape from Cassbrooke Castle, but was necessitated to dismiss the French Vessell, and betake myself to some other way of bringing that to pass.

And carrying the King's Cypher with mee out of the Island, I found meanes to lett Him knowe, that *I trembled to thinke what would become of Him if the Governour should* search His papers, and *find about Him the agreement with the Scotts, and therefore besought Him to dispose of it in some safe hand.*

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* "Mr. A. had so great a detestation of the Scots :—and this "opinion of his was universally known." Hist. of the Rebellion.

And then offered to Him that if Hee would engage some person about Him to convey Him out of the Castle to the water side, I would have a boate there ready to receive Him, and Horses at Netley Parke, to carrie Him to the place where I had provided a shipp to transport Him.

His Majestie sent me word that the Scotts Commissioners (by their last dispatch) seemed to bee in greate paine about the Papers of Agreement, and had the same apprehensions that I had of His being searched, pressing with greate earnestness to send them to the Queene, as well for the preservation thereof, (they being the rule of all things betweene them), as for avoiding the danger which would inevitably fall upon them, if those papers should be discovered before they arrived in Scotland; but *Hee had sent them to mee carefully to provide for His and their security,* by placeing them where they may rest concealed till some seasonable opportunity to make use of them; which papers I closed in lead and left them in Sir Charles Barkley's house; and verie happy it was that His Majestie did send them to mee, for within Ten dayes His Cabinet was broken open, and search made for all his writeings, expressly ayming at those papers; and further added, that what I had proposed to Him concerning His escape was verie welcome, and in order thereto would have mee waite for Him everie night at the sea-side, till Hee discharg'd mee, for most assuredly Hee would doe his parte, being confident of the assistance of one about Him, and haveing discovered (upon tryall) that Hee could pass His bodie betweene the barrs of the window of His Chamber, because Hee found there was roome enough for His head (the rule being that where the head can pass the body may); but most unhappily Hee mistooke the way of measure, for instead of putting forth His head sidewayes, Hee did it right forward; by which Error, when all things were adjusted for His escape the second time, and that Hee thought to put in execution, what Hee thought so sure (His passage through the window) Hee stuck fast in it, and (as Hee was pleased to send mee word) did straine so much in the attempt, as Hee was in greate extreamity, though with long and painefull struglings Hee got back againe, without anie certaine notice taken by anie man, but by him who waited to have served Him when Hee had come downe.* There were some other Endeavours used, but what effect they had I can give no Accompt—Mʳ Legg, Mʳ Levett, and myself

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* Gentle and courteous as readers are always supposed to be, it can hardly be expected that many of them should be disposed to give implicit credit to this anecdote on no better authority than Ashburnham's. Hence it may not be unacceptable to them (in order that they may the better form their own judgment) to be presented with the following extracts from lord

Clarendon; which after having considered, they may perhaps be disposed to say, like the old man in Terence's Comedy (and as no doubt many an old man in real life has said), after consulting three lawyers,

> "Incertior sum multo quàm dudum."

1.	2.
"Once afterwards he did endeavour to make his escape out of his "window, having, as he thought, "such provision made for him, that "if he had been out of his chamber, "he might have been conveyed out "of their reach. But he was deceived by a vulgar assertion, that "where the head can out the whole "body will follow; and so having "made an experiment with his head "between the bars of the window, "he concluded that he could easily "have got out that way; but when "he thought to have executed it, "and had his head out, and used all "the motions he could to draw his "body after him, he found himself "so straightened, that he could get "neither backward nor forward, and "after much pain sustained to no "purpose, he was forced to call out "for some to come to his relief; "and so he was, from without and "from within, helped back into his "chamber, which put an end to all "attempts of that kind."	"The king had a file and saw, "with which he had with wonderful "trouble sawed an iron bar in the "window, by which he could be "able to get out; and being in readiness the night was appointed, "and Osborne at the place, where "he was to receive the king. At "midnight the king came to the "window resolving to go out, but as "he was putting himself out he discerned more persons to stand there "about than used to do, and thereupon suspected that there was "some discovery made, and so shut "the window, and retired to his "bed. And this was all the ground "of a discourse which then flew "abroad, as if the king had got "half-way out at the window, and "could neither draw his body after "nor get bis head back, and so was "compelled to call out for help, "which was a mere fiction."

Of these two passages, No. 1 is among those omitted in all editions anterior to that of 1826. As the original editors probably thought, that two such contradictory assertions could not be laid before the public, they doubtless chose the one which the noble and authentic historian intended for publication, having inadvertently omitted to cancel the other. The certainty being (after neare a quarter of a yeares attendance in the nights upon the sea-shore, and the greatest

must be, that No. 1 was the original statement, and the probability is that he afterwards substituted No. 2, when, upon "reading John Ashburnham's Narrative," and "conversing at "large" with the author, he discovered "the *ground* of the "discourse," which was "flying abroad," and therefore declared it to be "a mere fiction."

There are, however, reasons to doubt, whether this be so very "mere" a "fiction" as many which have gained admission into this most authentic of histories.

In the letters between Col. Hammond and the Committee at Derby House is one from Cromwell, dated April 6, 1648, in which the following passage occurs.—"Intelligence came to "the hands of a very considerable person, that the king attempted to get out of his window, and that he had a cord of "silk with him, whereby to slip down; but his breast was so "big, the bar would not give him passage. This was done in "one of the dark nights, about a fortnight ago. A gentleman "with you led him the way, and slipped down. The guard that "night, had some quantity of wine with them. The same party "assures, that there is aqua fortis gone down from London to "remove that obstacle which hindered; and that the same "design is to be put into execution in the next dark nights."

In another letter, dated on the 15th of April 1648, from Gualter Fast, secretary to the committee, may be read as follows—"The king hath a bodkin with which he will raise the "lead, in which the iron bar of the window stands, to put in "the aqua fortis to eat out the iron. Then being got out, he "will from the bowlin alley cast himself over the works, and so "make his escape." And again in one decyphered of April 22d—"The aqua fortis was spilt by the way by accident; but "yesterday, about four o'clock, a fat plain man carried to the "king a hacker, which is an instrument made here, on purpose "to make the king's two knives, which he hath by him, cut as "saws. The time assigned is May-day at night for the king's "escape; but it may be sooner if opportunity serves."

part thereof in the winter season) *taken prisoners, and carried to Arundell, Warwick,* and Wallingford Castles;* from one of which I was (by His Majestie's greate favour in writeing to those honourable and faithfull persons in Colchester, and by their submission to His Majestie's pleasure and friendly inclinations towards mee) exchang'd for Sir William Massam, but *with this Condition, that I should depart the Kingdome in two monthes, and in the meane time to continue at my House in Sussex, and not to come nearer London;* soe verie rigid and severe the Parliament and Armie were to mee, with one of which or both it hath been thought I had kept an unworthy and disloyall Correspondence.

About the time of my Release the Parliament had resolved of a Treatie with His Majestie in the Isle of Wight, and *given Him libertie to call such of His Servants as Hee should thinke fitt to waite on Him during the Treatie, amongst which Hee was pleased to mention mee; but the Houses afterwards put a Restriction upon that freedome which they had allowed Him in the choise of His servants (expressly to prevent †my goeing to Him) as some*

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* "Ashburnham was not afterwards called in question for "being instrumental in the king's going away, but lived un-"questioned long after, &c. &c."

† This resolution of the House has been given at page 241

of them have since affirmed, declareing that they would not permitt anie to attend the King, who were excepted persons for life and estate, in which qualification I being inserted, could not be permitted to waite on His Majestie in that Treatie; yet being at my owne house, I held intelligence with Him, and received Commands from Him to provide a Barque at Hastings in readiness to carry Him into France, and to send horses againe to Netley, and lay others betweene that place and my House, to the end that if the Commissioners of Parliament should insist upon such particulars in the Treaty as His Conscience and Honour could not submitt to, Hee might be supplyed with all things necessary to His escape when Hee should come on this side the water, which Hee tooke for granted that Hee should be able to performe, haveing then no greate Restraint upon Him; all which were punctually observed; but within twenty dayes or thereabouts His Majestie sent mee the Relation of His Condition, which Hee expressed to bee verie melancholie, some persons verie neare Him haveing refus'd to serve Him in His escape, and so gave mee order to discharge the Barque and horses that waited for

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of this Vindication; where lord Clarendon's omission of this "restriction from that freedom," allowed to 46 of the king's friends with only two exceptions, is also pointed out.

Him, concludeing thus, that He heard there were divers persons taken out of the first Exception, and that I was in that number, and therefore commanded mee to make my Composition, it being His desire to preserve (as much as in Him lay) as manie as Hee could of those who had been faithfull to Him, though Hee had then but little hopes to preserve Himself, which letter I have yet kept.*

In the prosecution of my Composition, I found that no less than one half of my little Estate would be accepted,† *though there was no president for the like among all those who had the honour to serve the King in His warres, nor hath there been since anie man (who was admitted to Composition) that hath had the same measure;* but with greate cheerefullness I paid it, well knowing it was part of the price of my loyalty, and a sacrifice of services to the best of Kings and Masters.

And lastly I laid the designe of His escape from S^t James, and had attempted it, had Hee not been close restrain'd that verie day it was to bee put in execution, of which there are three Persons of honour yet liveing who were to have had equall shares in that dutifull action, but man proposeth, and God disposeth, and no Creature is able to resist His power.

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* This letter has not been found.

† "He compounded (as was reported) at an easy rate.' Clarendon's History.

I doe end thus (and I doe hope to be justified by all ingenuous and considering men), that it was not the King's remoove from Hampton Court into the Isle of Wight (there being nothing in the Change of place, either of losse to His Majestie, or gaine to the Armie, or Parliament, or to mee, all our Conditions being the same still) that brought the Evell fate upon Him (how cruell and injuriously soever I have by unworthy and base detracting toungues been dealt with; for, after His being there, Hee had (by the entrance of Duke Hamilton's Armie) according to the Agreement in the Isle of Wight, by the Insurrections in Kent, Essex, Wales, and Pomfrett) farr greater hopes of being restor'd, than ever Hee had whilst (in Person) in Armes. Adding, that after all this, Hee had a Treaty with the Parliament personally, a thing till then ever labour'd for by His Majestie, but still refused by them; but it was the ill success of all these greate attempts, together with the jealousy (though they could never proove anie thing) the Armie pretended of the Queene's Treatie with the Scotts in France, whilst the King was in their hands (as some of the cheefest

Instruments in that horrid murder of His Majestie doe in their ordinarie discourses affirme His Majestie's abetting the Cittie of London when the Army march'd to Braneford, and His takeing no notice of the Armie's interest in the Treaty at the Isle of Wight; since in the concludeing of a Peace, Hee constantly made it His profession to comprize all Interests, and had given for the Reason of His refuseing to make Lawes of the foure Bills presented to Him, the Scotts publicke Protestation against them because the Interest of that Nation was not comprehended in the Peace, the Armie beleeveing it as reasonable for the King to have consider'd their Interest as the Scotts, and that nothing but His greater affection to them than to the English could have prevail'd with Him to have made that omission.)

These I say they doe declare upon all occasions to be the onlie causes of all the mischeefe that befell Him, how falsely and how wickedly soever suggested by them, and if I may add the unheard of wicked ambition of Cromwell (to satisfie which nor rapine, nor blood, no nor the finall destruction of the habitable world could beget the least pause) I thinke you have all.

Nor doe I know of anie things I did in the whole transactions with the officers of the Armie, or the Governour of the Isle of Wight, other than my too much credulitie (grounded upon their absolute Interest) in the performance of their promises (an Error of Infirmitie, but no kinne to Treason) that in the same extreamities the King was in (and it is not easy for everie man to judge what those were) I should not in the same ignorance of success I then stood (nothing being more wild in my judgement than the thought of Parliament's takeing away His life) doe the verie same things I did, with the full assurance of the preservation of perfect innocence about mee.

I confess I have lately met with these objections; first, that it was a fault in mee not to kill the Governour at the time I propos'd it to His Majestie, without acquainting His Majestie with it, well knowing the King's greate tenderness of blood.

To which I answeare, that the action had not been so warrantable without His Majestie's concurrence; nor was it fitt I should be responsible for the success which might after have hapned to His Majestie in case Hee should have been taken in pursuite and murdered, though the best endeavour under Heaven had been used for His escape; and would it not then have been laid to my charge much stronger, that Hee might have accepted good Conditions from the Governour, and thereby in probability have been restor'd, had not I soe rashly and soe inconsiderately without His Majestie's privitie prevented Him, would not this I say to all censorious men have been as naturall a Cause to have then blam'd mee for that Action, as they now doe for the other omission? Next that I did (at our first comeing to the Governour of the Isle of Wight) discover to Him where the King was, which thing I doe utterly deny, that unhappie discovery being made by Sir John Berkeley, who though hee told him not the particular place, yet hee told him that the King was verie neare him, a secret too great to be reveal'd, though I am verie cleare that hee intended no prejudice by it; but I doe acknowledge that when wee were over the Sea, and at the Towne of Titchfield, I then let the Governour know that the King was at Titchfield House, and desired leave to goe before to informe His Majestie what had pass'd, especially to give Him the choise of disposeing Himself by secureing the Governour from interrupting Him, which Action I tooke to bee the utmost discharge of my Duty.

Thirdly, it is objected as a fault, that I did not (after my Composition) leave this Nation* and attend His Majestie; to which I answeare, that, first, *I was follow'd so close with actions of fortie*

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* "Mr. A. continued in England, and so more liable to "reproach."

foure Thousand pounds, for moneys I stood engag'd for His late Majestie, that it was utterly impossible for mee to stirr from hence;[*] in the next place, *I was for the space of Three yeares so persecuted by Committees* to discover who had lent the King any money during the Warrs, as I had scarce time to eate my bread, in which examination it must be granted that I was equally carefull of other mens preservation with my owne; *and for five yeares more, they were spent in close imprisonment at London, and Three banishments to Garnesey Castle, the cause being for sending*[†] *mony to His Majestie:* besides if it were a Crime, there are thousands of faithfull servants to His Majestie involved in that omission, who doe all beleeve our stay heere to have been more profitable to His Majestie, and more hazardous to ourselves, than if wee had attended Him beyond the Seas,[‡] and hope wee shall not bee so unfortunate as to be blam'd for it, since in our labours and sufferings, and all imaginable endeavours to promote His Majestie's interest, wee discharged the uttermost of our duties; this is a truth well knowne.

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[*] "He lived unquestioned in the sight of the parliament, "and in conversation with some of the officers of the army "who had most deceived him;—and lived at ease, and grew "rich for many years together without interruption."

[†] "He did send over to the king, and had leave to stay; and "sometimes supplied the king with considerable sums of "money." History of the Rebellion.

[‡] Conspicuous among those faithful servants involved in that omission, who believed their stay here to have been more profitable to the king, and more hazardous to themselves, was the earl of Southampton; who was also "among those of greatest "reputation, who gave Ashburnham a good testimony."

And lastly, I have heard that I should have received Forty Thousand pounds from the Parliament or Armie, or both, for carrying the King from Hampton Court, and that there was a Clerke in the Exchequer who affirmed that he had paid mee Twenty Thousand pounds in part thereof with his owne hands; but when I sought after him I found he was full of repentance for that sinne, and therefore all I sayd to him was, that my prayer should bee that God would bee pleased to forgive him (for the thing is so ridiculous in itself as it needes no Answeare.)

Indeed I should be glad to be informed of anie more objections, to the end that the world might receive such further satisfaction as my innocency and the truth of the matter would beare.

I close all with this assertion, and will seale it with my blood, that in both these Actions I never intended anie thing but the discharge of my duty to the King, nor ever had a disloyall thought to the recovery of His just authority; and my witness being in Heaven, I doubt not but that God of His mercy will show some tokens upon mee for good, that they which hate mee may see them and bee ashamed, because Hee hath holpen mee and comforted mee.

Ps. lxxxvi. verse 17.

LETTERS.

No. I.

From the King to the Queen, Newcastle, May 15th, 1646.

No. II.

From the King to J. Ashburnham, Newcastle, July 8th, 1646.

No. III.

From the King to J. Ashburnham. Without Date.

No. IV.

A Warrant (in Cypher) to J. Ashburnham, given at Newcastle, Without Date.

No. V.

A Warrant to John Ashburnham, given at Newcastle, July 28th, 1646.

No. VI.

A deciphered Letter from John Ashburnham to the King; dated the Hague, February 28th, 1647.

LETTER I.

Newcastle, May 15th, 1646.

Deare Heart,

The necessity of my affairs hath made me send Jack Ashburnham unto thee; who at this present is the most (and with the greatest injustice) persecuted of all my servants, and meerly for his fidelity to mee; which is well knowne to thee, that I need neither recomend him to thy care, nor take y^{e} pains of setting downe the present state of my affaires, and how they have changed since I came from Oxford, and why it is so long since I wrote to thee; referring all to his faithful relation; as likewise what I desire thee to doe for my assistance: so trensferring at this time y^{e} freedome of my pen, to his tongue, I rest eternally thine,

C. R.

I owe Jack £9,200. which I
earnestly recommend thou wouldst
assest him in for his repayment.

The original of this was in the possession of the late Duke of Queensberry, by whom a copy of it was given to the late Earl of Ashburnham.

On account of the mention made of John

Ashburnham, both in the Letter and in the Postscript, the Document is the more satisfactory from its not being in the hands of his descendants; because less liable to suspicion, as to its being genuine.

The date, both as to place and time, agrees with that of a letter from the king to sir Ed. Nicholas of May 16th, 1646, from Newcastle: in which he writes ;—" Jack Ashburnham is *this* day gone for " Fraunce." Private Correspondence of sir Ed. Nicholas, edited by W. Bray, Esquire.

LETTER II. *Endorsed* 313:389:

227:81:102:312:833:857:824:4:5:85:6:7:334?173:182:229:161:56:107:837:40:174:524:86:228:15:613:143:342?304:110:229:109:517:82:110:111:343:109:151:43:2:313:217:52:364:(181:298:236:343:45:162:229:61:180:88:101:10:11:90)303:747:176:236:331:65:180:293:394:197:643:313:206:769:(141:327:524:109:176:303:142:132:38:17:23:81:22:103:304:783)305:331:293:136:406:47:156:123:313:351:207:111:305:517:56:107:26:53:58:1:87:40:179:109:176:293:150:25:40:2:53:54:19:85:11:313:217:

173:90:22:45:68:58:26:342:313:724:108:154:32:44:351:313:401:303:70:57:2:87:11:173:211:174:303:190:40:22:85:60:175:236:206:613:313:155:327:151:45:158:326:330:174:109:455:49:63:305:173:5:61:229:65:180:301:39:174:47:52:103:176:206:120:313:155:320:327:206:654:180:305:173:15:65:3:17:1:40:60:181:173:151:229:174:313:524:109:141:2:303:133:236:825:43:11:67:63:108:301:154:22:84:305:173:109:229:429:90:313:9:189:21:30:42:304:533:82:14:61:26:236:654:173:513:84:313:231:110:342:344:173:55:28:64:2:342:193:313:317:11:179:23:81:85:237:90:176:313:343:128:88:87:22:52:175:141:303:73:132:236:206:40:26:53:54:4:81:2:3:140:337:347:

181:45:10:58:7:87:19:12:325:180:118:313:524:312:351:305:156:59:100:25:39:60:562:86:128:81:58:11:22:63:121:28:25:62:26:174:303:650:776:167:208:5:139:215:84:45:141:156:227:101:13:138:52:2:3:330:141:191:155:544:157:141:206:47:5:31:11:12:

834:858:60:41:824:56:241:63:2:53:11:54:17:180:227:197:123:

LETTER II.

Decyphered by John Ashburnham.

Newcastle Wednesday 8: of July. Jack I know not how many weeks in ffrance and neuer a letter from you. This cannot be excused but by your being gone to meet the prince; (if some of yours haue not miscarried,) the securing of whom is soe absolutly necessary to my safety *(for which ffrance being the fittest place at this time) that whosoeuer assists his coming to the Queen may by that excuse many errors; it being soe good a seruice to me.* a. I desire you to remember and helpe the Queen to answeare the Quere I made in the last section of my letter to her which goes herewith wherin be confident that I am not mistaken in stating my case to her. Upon which my opinion is that I am lost, if I goe not into ffrance before the end of August next: and take heed that I be not beleeued too late. This freedome of opinion I exprese to none but you; yet I give you leaue to use it according to your discretion for the rest of my seruice. *If sir Richard Willis* come to ffrance b. tell the Queen that *his gallant honest and discreet carriage in the Oxford Treaty hath made a full mends for his Newarke fault:* wherfore let her fauour him for my sake.

Thursday nineth of July *Montr: is newly come.* c.

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* Montereul.

a. *For which France being the fittest place at this time.*] From the first paragraph it is evident that, contrary to Lord Clarendon's opinion, and to his Statement of Facts, the king wished, and intended, that the Prince of Wales should be with the queen his mother. This is further ascertained from an intercepted letter of His Majesty to his son; which may be found in the Lords' Journals, and in the Parliamentary History, vol. 14. p. 461.

" For my Son the Prince Charles,

" This is rather to tell you where I am and that " I am well, than at this time to direct you any " thing: *having written fully to your Mother what " I would have you do:* whom I command you to " obey in every thing except in Religion; con- " cerning which I am confident she will never " trouble you; and see, that you go no where " without hers or my particular directions. Let " me hear often from you, and so God bless you—

" Your loving Father

Newcastle " Charles R."
June 2. 1646.

P. S. " If Jack Ashburnham comes where you " are, command him to wait upon you, as he was " wont, until I send for him; *if your mother and " you be together:* if not he must wait on her."

b. *Sir Richard Willis.*] *His Newarke fault* will be found (in the 5th vol. of Lord Clarendon's History, page 295) to have been of that nature and magnitude, that his carriage in the Oxford Treaty must have been gallant, honest, and discreet in the extreme to have made full amends for it. And how little he deserved the king's lenity, much less his good opinion, was afterwards but too well proved by the discovery of his treachery in betraying the plans for the restoration of Charles II., which the noble historian has given in his 7th vol. p. 324.

Montreuil is newly come.] From France, or not from France? “ that is the question:” since it is essential to ascertain that point, in order to establish the accuracy of lord Clarendon's relation. If he be correct in affirming that Montreuil *sailed in a Dutch ship from Newcastle only the day after Ashburnham* had left the king, on the 16th of May: and if he be correct in saying further that Montreuil “ *after his return, and* “ *after the first account of his negociation,* was “ restrained from coming to the Court, and forbid “ to remain in Paris; and lay under a formed, “ declared, dislike, *till his death: which* with grief “ of mind, *shortly ensued,*” then is the question decisively to be answered in the negative. But there is good evidence, however Montreuil might, according to lord Clarendon, have found in France

> “ That undiscovered country, from whose bourne
> No traveller returns,”

that he was afterwards seen at Newcastle: although we have not the Ghost's word to take for it.

That the king was not deceived, when he wrote that *Montreuil was newly come* to Newcastle on the 9th of July, is confirm'd by the following entry transcribed from the Common's Journals, August 11, 1646.

" Read

" A letter from Captain Phineas Pett from " Yarmouth, of 6th Aug: 1646, concerning Monsieur de Montreuil, the French Agent, taken at " sea, and some letters in the same ship hidden " two foot deep among coals: the which letters " were enclosed."

" A Committee to consider the same.

" Resolved, &c—That the Agent to the French " Ambassador shall have a pass from Mr. Speaker " to pass freely without stay or interruption into " France, with the letters staid in or near " Greenwich."

These coals, whether as merchandise or ballast, being found in the same ship with the letters, and the French Agent, justify a suspicion that she was *last* from Newcastle.

If then Montreuil did *not return to France before the middle of August,* there must have been an interval of nearly *three months,* instead of *one day,* between the time of his leaving the king and that of Ashburnham's: which may well suffice to remove all wonder, that the latter, howbeit "as "entirely trusted by the king as any man in England, should have brought no such message" as that, of which the former was the bearer. But if on the contrary Montreuil was a second time sent to England, he could not, after giving the *first* account of his negociation, have continued in disgrace till his death, which shortly ensued.

The passage in the History of the Rebellion to which repeated allusion has here been made, is the following:—"The Queen thought now that she had "more reason to be confirm'd in her former reso"lution for the speedy remove of the Prince: and "*it was pretended* that he (Montreuil) had brought "a letter from the king, which was decyphered by "the lord Jermyn: in which he said 'that he did "'believe that the Prince could not be safe any "'where, but with the queen; and therefore "'wished that, if he were not there already, he "'should be speedily sent for.'" And Montreuil "*professed* to have a message by word of mouth "to the same purpose: whereas Mr. Ashburnham, "who left the king but the very day before Mon"treuil, and who was as entirely trusted by the "king as any man in England, brought no such "message."

Whence can have arisen such doubts, almost amounting to denials, of the queen's having received either this letter, or this message by word of mouth, delivered by Montreuil from the king? Certainly the grounds of them are not to be found among those "State Papers collected by lord "Clarendon, containing the materials, and the "*authorities, on which the truth of his relation is* "*founded.*" These private documents on the present, he seems as much to have omitted to consult, as, on other occasions, those public records, which he is said by M. Villemain, and proved by Dr. Lingard, to have disregarded.

Among these State Papers, at page 230 of the 2d vol. will be found a letter in which the following passages occur.

"His Majesty to the Queen.

"Deart Heart,

* * * * * * * *

"I do therefore charge thee, as soon as thou shalt "receive this, if then he (my son) shall not be "with thee, (which I would not willingly doubt,) "that thou send mine and thine own positive "commands to him to come unto thee. And this "I write to thee now without any scruple; for "that in every event that my present purpose can "possibly produce, this counsel is not to be disputed. For whether I save myself, or be taken

" prisoner, my son can be nowhere so well, for all " the reasons that I have to look upon in consi- " deration of thee, myself, and him, as that he " should be now with thee in France. Therefore " again I recommend to thee that, if he be not " with thee, thou send immediately for him; as- " suring thee, that most certainly, if God let me " live, I will either privately or by force, attempt " very suddenly to get from hence. * * * *
" So I conjure thee to pray for him who is " entirely

thine CHARLES R."

Oxford, Tuesday, April 15, 1646.

" P. S. I do again recommend to thee the has- " tening of the ambassador I proposed in my last " of the 13th. His being at London is like my " son's being with thee; fit in all events of my " affairs."

At page 238 there is a letter, of which the following is an extract.

" The Queen to the Prince of Wales."*

" Dear Charles,"

* * * * * *

" Therefore considering of what high importance " your safety is, as well to the king's person and

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* " A copy by Mr. Edgman, endorsed by lord Clarendon " 'Last letter from the queen to the prince by the lords.'" Mr. Edgman was lord Clarendon's secretary.

" his affairs, as likewise to your own interest and " all his majesty's kingdoms, I must positively " require you to give immediate obedience to his " majesty's commands mentioned in the letter " which I lately sent by sir Dudley Wyatt, and " reiterated in the letter which I this day received " from the king by M^r Montreuil, concerning " your repair to this kingdom. Whereas we have " the greatest assurance from the crown of France " that possibly can be given for your honourable " reception, and full liberty to continue here, and " to depart hence at your pleasure; so I do " hereby engage myself to you and your council, " that, whensoever with their advice you shall " find it fitting to repair from hence into any of " his majesty's dominions, I shall no ways oppose " it; but shall concur and assist therein; and I " likewise assure you, that I shall very punctually pursue the king's directions to me, contained " in his letter of the 22d of March; an extract " whereof I herewith send you, signed by me. I " mention these particulars, that, so far as shall " be in my power, all possible objections shall be " satisfied. * * *

" I am,
" Your most affectionate mother,
" Henriette Marie R."

" St. Germains, 20th June, 1646."

"This is the true copy of the king's letter*
"signed by me, **Henriette Marie, R.**"

"It is true that my person will not want "danger; but I want not probabilities of reasonable good security; the chiefest of which is "prince Charles's being with thee; concerning "whom I desire thee, as thou lovest me, first, "that thou wouldst not endeavour to alter him in "religion, nor so much as trouble him on that "point; next that thou wouldst not thyself, nor "suffer him to be engaged in any treaty of marriage, without first having my approbation."

"A copy, by Mr. Edgman."

"Extract of the King's letter to the Queen of
"28th May, 1646, from Newcastle."

"I think not prince Charles safe in Jersey, "therefore send for him to wait upon thee with "all speed; for his preservation is the greatest "hope for my safety; and in God's name let him "stay with thee, 'till it is seen what ply my business will take. And for my sake let the world "see that the queen seeks not to alter his conscience."

"A copy by Mr. Edgman."

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* "The extract of the king's letter to her majesty of 22d "March, mentioned in the foregoing letter."

" This underwritten *(extract of a letter from " the king to the queen)* was sent to sir George " Carteret by the lord Jermyn the next day after " the prince went from hence, he having received " it there from Paris, and directed him to shew it " to me."*

" Concerning the prince of Wales, France is " the place I think the fittest for him to remain " in, all things considered; whether it be for the " contributing to a happy peace or a gallant war. " Wherefore now command him in my name to " wait upon you, and suffer not thyself to be persuaded to the contrary by any pretence whatsoever; for the safety of me and my affairs is so " much concerned therein, that I must needs " make a judgment of thine affection to me, more " from this particular, than any other which can " happen."

" June 3d."

" A copy, by Mr. Edgman."

That Ashburnham brought no such message, and that in truth he had no such to bring, as that, with which Montreuil was charged, is a fair inference from the king's letter to him: the subject of the present commentary. In as much as it commences with a rebuke for neglecting to write, and then proceeds with informing him how best he may excuse many errors, and render the most acceptable service to his majesty: namely, by assisting the prince's coming to the queen: "France being at this time the fittest place for "his security."

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* " This is in lord Clarendon's hand."

It is scarcely possible that the king should have so written to Ashburnham on the 9th of July, if he had declared the same to him at their parting nearly two months before.

This inference is further strengthened by lord Clarendon's subsequent assertion that "Mr. Ashburnham thought it pernicious that the prince "should come into France at that conjuncture; "and that the king's opinion of the convenience "of the prince's coming into France could proceed from nothing but the thought of his insecurity in Jersey." *Could proceed,* surely implies that this thought was purely *conjectural,* and in contradistinction to what he had till then *known* of his majesty's sentiments. It is true that Ashburnham's ignorance, so late as on the 16th of May, of the king's earnest desire and fixed resolve, so early as the 22d of March, ill accords with his being "as entirely trusted by the king as any "man in England." But who can receive with unqualified belief lord Clarendon's unsupported relation of any transaction, in so far as Ashburnham may have been implicated in it? Surely they alone, who remain yet unconvinced that Paolo Giovio has not been the only historian, who might have boasted of his one pen of gold, and his other of iron, to be employed according to the partiality or prejudice, with which he viewed the man, whose character he was about to perpetuate, or whose conduct to record.

LETTER III. Endorsed—*for your selfe.*

Now for my selfe be confident of my Constancy to the Church, for w^{ch}, upon debate, I am dayly more & more confirmed for now I see cleerly that the Presbiterians dispyses & contradicts bouldly the consent of Fathers & the customes of the Catholike Church: & they hould, that the Supreme Power is originally in the People, to whom all Magistrats ought to account: As for 206:2: 40:81:5:38:176:143:154:39:85:11:12:173:278:229: 103:52:22:56:44:60:179:110:111:351:404: [*my escaping from hence, I shall not attempt it but by* a. *the queen's advice*] or such as 45:154: [*she*] shall trust to manage that business: concerning w^{ch}, now that I haue declared my Opinion & showen my reasons (as I haue fully done in *former Letters*) I haue now no impatience, for I shall not loose, by my owen sylence w^{ch}, was the cheefe care, I had in this:

Vpon Saterday next I expect the London Propositions; b. for one of w^{ch}, I particularly desyre aduyce, they Demand not only, the confirmation of theire Counterfaict Great Seale, but also, the makeing good of all the Acts w^{ch} hath beene done by it: I know, this is not to be granted (for you remember the great consequences that I tould you, in Oxford depended upon it) but, how hansomly to euade it, there is the question: for this I desyre the Opinions of *351:385:386:387:389: &, if thease thinke it expedient, of 357: with as much expedition as may be to

Your most assured constant frend
CHARLES R.

Giue this inclosed to my Wyfe, & me
a particular account of her healthe.

a. *My escaping from hence I shall not attempt.*] This declaration, under the king's own hand, that he will not attempt to make his escape without the queen's advice strongly corroborates the generally prevalent opinion, that his life was sacrificed to her fatal influence over him.

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* The Editor regrets, that he is not permitted to name the gentleman, to whom he is indebted for the deciphering of a part of this letter, and of the warrant next inserted; as well because it would have been gratifying to have expressed more pointedly the sense of his obligation as that the knowledge of the authority would have been satisfactory to his readers.

In the 2d volume of the Clarendon State Papers, at page 242, are given the "ciphers used in the correspondence of the king (then at Newcastle) with the lords Jermyn and Culpeper and Mr. J. Ashburnham:" thus—

351 . . . . . the queen
364 . . . . . prince of Wales.
385 . . . . . lord Jermyn.
386 . . . . . lord Culpeper.
389 . . . . . J. Ashburnham.

Among those "*former letters*" in which (as he here writes) he had fully declared his opinion, and shewn his reason, is of course the one, which forms the antecedent Article. Wherein he solemnly and pathetically certifies his conviction that nothing but escape can save him; as in this he calmly avows his resignation to the will of fate, or rather of her, on whose will he has made his fate dependent; having satisfied his conscience by the notification of his perilous state.

Lord Clarendon repeats, as marking more strongly the distinction, that it was *before* the treaty of Newport, that the king was inclined to make his escape. The natural inference therefore would be that subsequently he was never so inclined. But instances are not wanting to shew that he again entertained the same intention, and again abandoned it in obedience to the same all-powerful veto. **Hist. vol. vi. p. 191.**

Sir John Bowring, knt. in his "Account of "Secret Transactions in the Isle of Wight" speaks much of "the frequent importunities and conve-"nient offers" he made to the king for an escape, and "had brought him at last to some inclination "to it"—"When on the sudden his majesty made "me a private sign to follow him into his closet, "and as soon as I was in, his majesty was pleased "to tell me, he had received this morning early

" some letters from *a friend beyond seas,* wherein " he was advised not to go out of the island by " any means; for it was not in the power of the " army to do his majesty the least harm, or to " touch one hair of his head; and shewed me the " letter. 'So that,' says his majesty, 'if I should " 'go with you now, as I thought to have done, " 'and things fall out otherwise than well with " 'me; and the rather because my treaty hath " 'had so fair an end as you see by their votes, " 'and that my concessions are satisfactory, *and* " '*especially since I have received this advice (you* " '*guess from whence it comes) I shall be always* " '*blamed hereafter.*' .... 'Therefore,' says " his majesty, 'I am resolved to stay here, and " 'God's will be done.'"

The above extract is given in a note to Kennet's History of the Life and Reign of King Charles I. And the right reverend Author has added the following remark—" I doubt there is a key to " this secret piece of history in a letter from the " queen to his majesty in the Isle of Wight, once " in the hands of Mr. Lenthal, son of the speaker, " who shewed it to a particular friend, who spoke " of it to persons of great worth and figure, that " he had seen and read such a letter* from the

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* A letter of the queen to the king, dated November 1646, concludes thus:—" I have one thing more to add, which is to

" queen, dissuading his majesty from attempting " to save his life by any escape *to France.* Whe- " ther she did this from a timorous apprehension " of greater danger, if he should be taken ; or (as " is intimated) from an indifference to the king's " person and a familiar acquaintance contracted " with the lord Aubigney,* is not so easy or fit " to determine. But if the king was really de- " tained by such a letter of advice from the queen, " when he would, and might, otherwise have " escaped, the match was the more fatal to him : " when she chiefly brought him to his troubles, " and now prevented the only deliverance from a " violent death."

Warburton's comment where Clarendon says— " The queen of England being struck to the heart " with amazement and confusion upon the report " of what the parliament intended" (to bring the king to his trial) is—" She might well be so, " when she had defeated the only means of pre-

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" conjure you, that till the Scots shall declare that they will not " protect you, you do not think of making any escape from " England. They are startled here at the naming of it ; and " in so doing you would destroy all our hopes, besides the " danger of the attempt." Clarendon State Papers, vol. ii. p. 298.

* For Aubigney we must here read St. Albans, or rather Jermyn. George Stuart, the last lord Aubigney, was killed at the battle of Edgehill. According to Warburton, Burnet was very certain, that the queen had a child by Jermyn.

" venting this dreadful catastrophe by discouraging his rescue out of Carisbrook Castle, and his " escape into France." The right reverend commentator having before observed on " a general " murmur, that the fleet had laid so long idle at " the mouth of the river"—that,—" it was indeed " astonishing. One can give no other reason than " what is *hinted* at page 192, (N. B. of *lord Clarendon's History*) that the queen dreaded his " coming to Paris, where she was unwilling the " king should interrupt her commerce with " Jermyn."

The noble Historian says, that on receiving the news of her royal husband's execution " the queen " wrote to the king her son, that he could not do " better than to repair into France as soon as possible: and in the mean time desired him not to " swear any persons to be of his council, till she " could speak with him: *notwithstanding the " great agony she was in; which, without doubt, " was as great a passion of sorrow, as she was well " able to sustain.*" On these last words Warburton's note is confined to this one word " *Ironicé.*" They are certainly somewhat equivocal and ambiguous; as are those, which form no small portion of the passages in the most authentic of histories. But that the Bishop's is the right interpretation is countenanced by M^{lle} de Montpensier's account of her first visit of condolence to the widowed queen at the Louvre—" Je ne la trouvai pas si " sensiblement touchée qu'elle aurait dû l'être, " par l'amitié, que le Roi son mari avait pour " elle; et de qui elle était parfaitement bien " traitée; elle était maitresse de tout: joint à " cela que le genre de sa mort me semblait devoir " ajouter beaucoup à son affliction."

b. *Upon Saturday I expect the London propositions.*] The date of this letter is wanting, as well as the beginning of it, which has been evidently torn, or rather worn, off. The former deficiency is in some measure supplied by the following extract from the Parliamentary History, vol. xv. p. 368.

" His majesty's most gracious message from " *Holdenby, *May* 12, 1647.

" For the speaker of the lords' house pro tempore, to be communicated to the lords and " commons in the parliament of England at Westminster, and the commissioners of the parliament " of Scotland.

" As the daily expectation of the coming of the " propositions hath made his majesty this long " time to forbear giving his answer unto them, so

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* The king was brought to Holdenby Feb. 16, 1647, and was carried off from thence June 4, 1647.

"the appearance of their sending being no more, "for any thing he can hear, than it was at his "first coming hither, notwithstanding that the "earl of Lauderdale hath been at London above "these ten days, (whose not coming was said to "be the only stop) hath caused his majesty thus "to anticipate their coming to him; * *

* * * * * * * * *

"*Touching the new great seal;* his majesty is "very willing to confirm both it, and all the acts "done by virtue thereof until this present time, "so that it be not thereby pressed to make void "those acts of his done by virtue of his great "seal, which in honour and justice he is obliged "to maintain; and that the future government "thereof may be in his majesty according to the "due course of law."

IV. WARRANT.

99:81:41:5:53:17:2:40:50:87:12:
779:79:108:337:109:599:22:90:238:325:108:44:17:
22:5:40:54:53:11:180:305:320:107:236:238:19:22:
66:11:17:40:174:343:85:54:40:60:9:90:79:237:111:
23:7:47:54:53:85:46:5:53:59:22:320:60:41:20:40:11:
100:738:22:49:59:5:55:2:82:111:206:141:56:2:87:7:
66:23:87:53:5:39:60:342:8:9:53:60:46:326:53:5:4:40:
22:303:47:54:56:65:236:848:44:9:54:49:90:45:108:
90:22:54:19:84:11:179:26:70:54:100:17:79:109:60:
66:10:67:52:386:108:343:40:22:17:8:11:141:327:
304:278:109:343:40:64:18:8:19:85:10:2:39:60:7:66:
5:53:58:23 39:63: 55:10:64:22:49:103:238:85:20:
54:53:60:103:233:85:5:40:60:17:22:
313:238:779:79:108:337:109:599:22:90:
749:389:36:99:30:50:7:96:

CHARLES R.

Trusty and well-beloved,

Our Will and Pleasure is that upon any of our Jewels in your custody, or by a surcharge upon those already engaged by my former Warrant, you forthwith raise the Summ of 848* Pounds, and devide it equally betwixt 386† and yourself; for which this shall be your sufficient Warrant.

Given at our Court at New-Castle.

To our trusty and well-beloved
Servant Ashburnham.
749. 389.

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* 10,000.

† Culpeper.

It is to this Warrant that the following passage in Ashburnham's Narrative alludes, when speaking of his escape from Newcastle:

" So that his (the King's) foreign dispatches
" being closed, I did pass into Holland. Where
" having obeyed such instructions as I had been
" entrusted with by his Majesty, I hastened into
" France."

It is well known that the money borrowed on the king's jewels was from subjects of the United States.

V. WARRANT.

CHARLES R.

Whereas Wee have comanded Our trusty and welbeloved servant Sir Edward Walker knight to repaire into France unto Our dearest Consort the Queene Our pleasure is (if there bee occasion) that you supply him with such moneyes as shall bee requisite for his support there, untill hee shall bee disposed otherwise in Our service. And for your so doeing this shall bee your sufficient warrant. Given at Our Court at New-Castle the 28th of July 1646.

To Our trusty and welbeloved John
Ashburnham Esq. One of Our Bed
Chamber.

According to lord Clarendon sir E. Walker was Garter King at Arms and Secretary to the Council of War. And according to Bishop Warburton lord Clarendon has drawn his relation of the campaigns from Walker's Historical Discourses. These were seized among the King's papers at the battle of Naseby; but afterwards restored by Fairfax.

VI. JOHN ASHBURNHAM TO THE KING.

On the part of Ashburnham nothing remains, in manuscript, of his correspondence with the King but the rough draft of a letter, which unfortunately fell into other hands than those for which alone it was intended. Such as it is here given is a transcript from the Parliamentary History, together with a somewhat curious account of the manner in which it was detected. In this instance at least there is no cause to complain of an unfair garbling by the Parliament of the royal papers for the purpose of publication. On comparing the print of the deciphered letter with the manuscript draft of it, not the variation of a single word has been discovered: the only difference being that which the writer himself must have made between the foul and fair copies. Where, in the former he had written, in the first person; " *I* have perfected, &c."—" I hope, &c.;" and " *I* have made, &c." in the latter occurs his cipher, 389.

The draft is endorsed " Mine to his Majesty of " the 11th of February 1647."

An. 23 Car. I. 1647. May.

" May 13. A Letter from the Earl of Denbigh, " addressed to the Speaker of the House of Peers, " was read, with the examination of John Brown " and Mrs. Mary Cave, and a Cypher sent to the " King from Mr. Ashburnham."

" My Lord, Holdenby, May 12, 1647.

Examinations, &c. relating to a Letter in Cyphers designed to be delivered to the King.

" We send you here inclosed a Petition which " served only as a cover to a Cypher on the back-" side thereof, and was to have been delivered to " his Majesty by Mrs. Mary Cave. It was brought " to her by one John Brown, servant to Mr. Ash-" burnham, then at the Hague, he being newly " removed, as Brown affirmed, out of France into " those parts. All the other particulars your Lord-" ship will find in the inclosed Copies of their " Examinations."

" Captain Abbot, the bearer hereof, did first dis-" cover the business to us, being made acquainted " with it at the place where he quartered; and " since, in the management of it, he hath carried " himself very discreetly. We have secured their " persons with the Mayor of Northampton till " your pleasure be further known, which we desire " your Lordship to signify to

" Your Lordship's humble Servants,

" B. Denbigh,

" Ed. Montague."

An. 23 Car. I. 1647. May.

"The Examination of John Brown, taken before "the Commissioners at Holdenby, May 11, 1647.

"This Examinant saith, about two months since "he received the Petition, with the Cyphers on "the backside thereof, from Mr. Ashburnham at "the Hague, and did see Mr. Ashburnham write "the Petition, but not the Cyphers.

"That about three weeks since he delivered "the Petition and Cyphers to Mrs. Mary Cave, "who undertook to deliver it to the King; and "that he was induced thereunto, being acquainted "with her when the King was at her father's "house, with Mr. Ashburnham, as his Majesty "came from Oxford to the Scots army.

"That he had an Order from his Majesty by "Sir James Lilly, to attend upon Mr. Ashburnham "at the Hague.

"That he never lost any goods at sea, as is set "forth in the Petition; but that the Petition was "meerly written to be a colour, that he might the "better deliver the Letter to the King which "Mr. Ashburnham gave him."

"John Brown."

“ The Examination of Mrs. Mary Cave, daughter “ to William Cave, of Stamford, in the County “ of Lincoln, Esq. taken before the Commis- “ sioners at Holdenby, May 11, 1647.”

An. 23
Car. 1
1647.
May.

“ This Examinant saith, That one Brown deli- “ vered her the Letter, a fortnight or three weeks “ since, from Mr. Ashburnham, and brought it to “ her as a Petition, and desired her to deliver it to “ his Majesty for Mr. Ashburnham, who is at the “ Hague: but upon view thereof saith, That she “ saw it was more than a Petition, but did not “ know what it was, yet undertook to deliver it “ to the King.”

“ MARY CAVE.”

“ The Earls of Kent, Lincoln, Rutland, and “ Manchester, were appointed to endeavour to “ explain this Cypher.”

“ To shew that the art of decyphering is no mo- “ dern invention, we give the following instance “ of a letter in figures sent to the King from Mr. “ Ashburnham, which had been intercepted by the “ Commissioners at Holdenby, and by them trans- “ mitted to the Parliament, as already mentioned. “ This letter, as decyphered, runs thus:”

Parliamentary Hist.

An. 23
Car. 1.
1647.

May.

A Letter in Cyphers, addressed to the King, decyphered and read.

Hague, Feb. 28,* 1647.

May it please your Majesty,

As 173 hath written to you lately by Persons at large, this is in short to tell your Majesty, that my soul is sorrowful to death for your afflictions; and 389 doth confess that weight to be greater than mankind can suffer, unless your Majesty look stedfastly upon Religion and Honour: yet be not discouraged, for if you continue constant to your principles, you will yet overcome all, and, in all probability, you will see a good war for your recovery. 389 hath perfected his Negotiation with Prince William; and if the Peace between Spain and the States be declared, which is confidently said here, he will certainly land a gallant army for your relief; and 389 hopes you shall have the Irish army and this meet successfully: therefore, as you tender the good of you and yours, be constant to your grounds. If your Majesty make laws to strengthen their usurped power, or part with the Church lands, there can be no hopes to restore you, and your posterity will be for ever lost. All that I, or any of your faithful servants, can say to you is, to beg constantly for you, that God would fortify your resolutions, and enable you to go through your unheard-of trials with piety and reputation, which is, and ever shall be, the prayer of

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* It is evident from the date of this letter that, at the time of writing it, Ashburnham believed the king to be still at Newcastle, or at least with the Scots army: his majesty (as it has been already observed) did not arrive at Holdenby till the 16th of February. According to the endorsement the draft was written on the 11th of that month.

An. 23 Car. 1. 1647. May.

Your humblest and faithfullest

389.

P. S. 389 hopes you have burnt all your Letters and Cyphers; if you have not, for God's sake do it. Your Majesty will still remember the alphabet, in confidence whereof you see 389 hath only made use of that part.

"Next the Letter and Examinations, sent from "the Commissioners at Holdenby, were also read "along with the foregoing; and the question being "put, Whether this Letter of the Commissioners "with the Examinations and the decyphering, "shall be now communicated to the House of Commons? it was resolved in the negative; whereupon "the following lords entered their Dissents."

A Protest thereupon.

"In consideration that this Letter being decyphered, imparteth matters of such high consequence; and, by examination, appears to have

An. 23
Car. 1.
1647.
May.

"been sent from Mr. Ashburnham to the King, "who hath been much employed in the King's "designs against the Parliament, they conceived "it fit to be communicated to the House of Commons for the good and safety of the whole "Kingdom; and that they may be acquitted "from any inconveniency that may arise by the "not sending of it down to the House of Commons, they have accordingly entered this their "Protestation."

B. DENBIGH, GREY OF WARKE,
SAY AND SELE, LA WARR,
P. WHARTON.

"But it being moved, That the original Letter, "with the Examinations taken by the Commissioners and their Letter, shall be now communicated to the House of Commons, it was resolved "in the affirmative."

The following anecdote is taken from Baker's History of Northamptonshire.

"About a month afterwards, another attempt "to convey secret information to the King was "detected. Mrs. Mary Cave, daughter of Mr. "William Cave, of Stamford in Lincolnshire, "undertook to deliver to the King a letter in "ciphers, which she received from one Browne,

" who had brought it from Mr. Ashburnham at
" the Hague. To attain her object, she engaged
" a female friend, who resided in the neighbourhood
" of Holdenby, to visit the landlady of
" Captain Abbot, one of the King's guards, and
" through the landlady's influence, to persuade
" the Captain to procure her the honour of
" kissing the King's hand; which having accomplished,
" she apprized Mrs. Cave of her success,
" and contracted with the landlady to receive her
" as a visitor, and endeavour through the Captain
" to obtain for her also the honour of an introduction
" to his Majesty, by which means she
" hoped to put the letter into his hand. Mrs. Cave
" came, and the Captain had good naturedly, but
" unsuspiciously, acceded to the request; when
" the landlady imparted the plot to her husband,
" who, though a royalist and favourable to the
" design, dared not run the risk of detection, and
" divulged the secret to the Captain. On the appointed
" day (11 May) the Captain, who had
" apprized the Commissioners of the circumstance,
" accompanied Mrs. Cave, who had no suspicion
" of having been betrayed, to Holdenby; and on
" her arrival she was carried into a room, but
" notwithstanding the most diligent search, nothing
" was found upon her. The letter was accidentally
" discovered a few days after behind the

" hangings of the room, where it seems she con-
" trived to slip it, whilst she stood with her back
" to the hangings, conversing with the ladies who
" searched her."

[The two following letters (the purposed introduction of which has been announced in a note at page 109 of J. Ashburnham's Narrative) are reprints from the Clarendon State Papers. Yet to the world they are probably as much unknown as those, by which they are here preceded: and which, as well as the Narrative (with due submission to Bishop Warburton and some later authorities) have never yet been edited, and scarcely shewn even in private. For in truth the volume, from which these re-printed extracts are now submitted (being the second of the aforesaid State Papers) seems hitherto to have had but few readers: and among these it might be almost doubted whether the editors themselves can be included. Since a very little reflection might have deterred them from publishing many of the documents, comprised in it, at all; but more especially from proclaiming them to be among "the authorities, on which the truth of his (lord Clarendon's) relation is founded."

It must however be admitted that the two letters here introduced sufficiently attest the noble Historian's accuracy in stating that "sir "John Colepeper had an entire confidence and "friendship with Mr. Ashburnham; whom the

“ King loved and trusted very much.” On which account alone, if there were no other, it is hoped that they are not here irrelevantly inserted.]

Clarendon's State Papers, vol. ii. p. 196.

“ *Letter from Mr. John Ashburnham to the lord* “ *Culpeper, concerning his Majesty's intention of* “ *going to London to treat with the Parliament.*”

My dearest Lord,

* * * * * *

I must acquaint you that the duke of York, being put into the care of sir George Ratcliffe, is to be conveyed by the lord Astley to Beaumaris, from whence he is to go (to) Ireland, and there stay in case the peace be made: if not to go from thence to France. But we now hope the peace is not made, being fully satisfied of their base intentions, from the beginning, not to succour us, and of their want of power to do it, if they had the desire, by reason of the entertainment which is given them by Inchiquin, Coote, and the Scots; but most of all, for that it would impossibilitate the peace of England, which Ireland (being free for his majesty in honour to dispose of) will bid so fair for the purchase of (it,) as we yet conceive (it) is not desperate. And therefore his majesty, after long debate, and a strict survey of his miserable condition hath thought this proposition counsellable, that a message be sent to those at Westminster to this effect; That if he may have security from the upper house, from the Scottish commissioners and their army, from the mayor, aldermen, and common council men of London, and from sir Thomas Fairfax and his army, for his safe being in London forty days, he will go thither in person, and endeavour to settle these distractions. But in case he cannot compose them in that time, that then he may be safely set down at Oxford, Newark or Worcester, his majesty making choice of one of these places the day before the expiration of the time limited. The reasons that invited his majesty to make choice of this advice, I suppose, were these. First, his low condition in point of force, the strange necessity he is brought into not being longer able to supply his table, the like wants being fallen upon all his party; the little (hope) he hath of being timely succoured by the earl of Montrose, or any other; the certainty of being blocked up here or in any other place his majesty can now hie unto; which this proposition will prevent, they not knowing what place his majesty will choose at the forty days end; and last, the great opportunity his majesty may give to the Scottish commissioners at London to effect what is proposed by them to the cardinal Mazarin, and by him to the queen of England; which is, that if the upper house and lower house at Westminster shall refuse to accept the Militia as it was offered at Uxbridge, a national synod of both kingdoms for business, religion, the temporary removal of five or six persons from his majesty (whereof the chancellor of the exchequer, lord Digby, and John Ashburnham are three) and to give his majesty full satisfaction in all other particulars; that then the whole power of Scotland shall be joined for his majesty.

If we conclude with them, the place his majesty must choose is Newark, the Scottish army being now before it. You seem to be confident that, if you might have leave, you would unite his majesty and the Scottish army; which when he read, he commanded me to let you know that he freely gives you leave to do your worst. And his majesty believeth that you intend to make your way by duke Hamilton. If so, it is supposed you will not think fit for him to go to Scilly. But what course soever you resolve on in that particular, his majesty gives you full liberty to do as in your judgement you find necessary for his majesty's service; *always provided you destroy* **not the church of England, to set up presbytery.*

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* "The king said Colepepper had no religion." Hist. vol. v. p. 412.

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Lastly, his majesty commanded me to tell you that he is in no little trouble to think of your going with prince Charles; and believes it much better for his service that you and lord Hopton stay behind, hoping to find some way for you to get a pass to come to him. Yet not being with you to debate it, he leaves it wholly to you; but with strange earnestness wisheth your stay, if it may be without prejudice to the prince. I suppose you will not want a good occasion for it, if you treat with one. My dearest lord, use the very best means you can to stay: for upon my life, if you were here, we should yet make a good peace, notwithstanding that we are at our last gasp. Yet, if you must go, God's blessing fall upon your head, and upon the heads of all your's, in what part of the world soever you or they be! And whatever my lot shall be in this war (which is not imaginable to be less than ruin) I will fall your's with more love and fidelity than ever was borne to you by mankind: and if it shall happen that I shall be so unfortunate as to outlive you, and that God doth favourably preserve me in a condition to serve your posterity, (which I cannot have so much presumption as to expect) be confident I shall shew them how perfectly I loved you living, by the devotion I shall shew to your memory. And so, my dearest Lord, farewell! I am body and soul your own,

Jo. Ashburnham.

* * * * * * *

I would give all I am worth to have two hours discourse with you.

Oxford, 13th Dec. 1645.

A copy by Mr. Edgman, secretary to lord Clarendon.

Clarendon's State Papers, vol. ii. p. 207.

The lord Culpeper to Mr. Ashburnham, requesting him to hasten the treaty with the Scots.

This is again most earnestly to intreat you to bend all your wits to the advance of the Scotch treaty. It is the only way left to save the crown and three kingdoms; all other tricks will deceive you. This is no age for miracles; and certainly the king's condition is such that less than a miracle cannot save him without a treaty, nor a treaty (probably) but that. If this take, the king will be in London in peace before Christmas. Therefore, if the opportunity I left in your power be lost, give not over till you find another; and if you find it not, make it. It is no time to dally upon distinctions and criticisms. All the world will laugh at them when a crown is in question.

If you can make the Scots your friends upon any honest terms, do it. Remember that kingdom united, and the North, and the king's friends in London, will quickly master any opposition which the independants can make. The question ought not to be, Whether, but how, you should do it. If you can engage a treaty, get a pass for me, I will quickly be with you. Whether the king take my advice, or not, he will believe it to be the best counsel that ever was given him. The best you can hope for in the West is a reprieve; Midsummer-day will not leave the king one town in it: Ireland will be a broken reed; neither can I believe much in Scotland without a treaty. As for foreign force, it is a vain dream. As soon as Fairfax advanceth, all the horse are in a net, without possibility either to break thorough, or to save themselves in our garrisons. The horse lost, it will be impossible ever to get up an army again: and if you saw us, you would believe we are not in condition to fight. The daily venture of the king's person will be great; so will the hazard be of the prince's escaping beyond sea, if he should be put to it: And if he were there, it would be a sad condition; and if he were to fall into the rebels' hands, the king were undone, undone. If half your Scots news be true, the interest of that nation is clearly of your side; and you may gain them, and thereby certainly save the crown, if you will. But you must not stick upon circumstances, nor part unwillingly with what you cannot keep. Your treaty must not be an underhand one, (that will deceive you) but an avowed one with Lesly and Calander. As soon as they have promised to protect the king's person and his prerogative, he is safer with them than in Newcastle. All that they can ask, or the king part with, is a trifle in respect of the price of a crown. Dispute not whilst you should resolve; nor spend in debate that precious time which is only fit for action. This opportunity lost is not to be recovered. Use this bearer kindly. If there be a Scotch treaty, his lord must be at one end of it, and will be very useful. He believeth this letter is wholly concerning his lord. Send him speedily back; and write at large by him and all other ways to, &c.

February, 1646.

A rough draught, by himself; endorsed by lord Clarendon.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

CHARLES R.

A True and Perfect Accompt of all such monies as have been Received and Paid for your Ma^{ts} service and by your appointm^{t} by Jo: Ashburnham since y^{e} 1st of April 1642 to y^{e} 26th of Octo^{br} 1643.

Inprimis From Your Ma^{tie}	00500 00 00
From the Universitie of Oxon	10667 14 03
From the Universitie of Cambridge	05118 00 00
From the Court of Wards	07800 00 00
From S^{r} Symon Every Receiver for the Duchy of Lancaster	00400 00 00
From S^{r} Edward Hyde Chancellor of the Exchequer at times	02000 00 00
From Your Ma^{ts} Mynt at divers payments	13188 14 06
From M^{r} Endimion Porter for sundry gentlemen at times	00640 00 00
From M^{r} Heron for certaine gent. at times	02599 10 00
From M^{r} Leake	00800 00 00
From S^{r} James Onyon	00500 00 00
From the Lord Bishopp of Salisbury	00500 00 00
From Doctor Lambe	00100 00 00
From S^{r} Xpofer Hatton for S^{r} W^{m} Botteler	00200 00 00
From the Towne of Nottingham	00500 00 00
	45513 18 09

We have taken a particular view of all the summes of money mentioned to be received by John Ashburnham for our use on this side the leafe And doe know the same to be true accordingly And doe allow thereof The same having been done by Our Especiall appoyntment.

CHARLES R.

CHARLES R.

From the Lord Ruthin - - -	0100 00 00
From the Lord Cherburies sonne - -	0220 00 00
From the Lord Herbert - - -	2000 00 00
From the Lord Falkland - - -	0190 00 00
From the Deane of Chesters man - -	0050 00 00
From the Sheriff of Stafford - - -	0327 00 00
From S^r John Byron - - - -	0670 00 00
From S^r Richard Newport - - - -	1000 00 00
From S^r Edward Golding - - -	0100 00 00
From S^r Richard Dyott - - -	0113 00 00
From S^r Henry Hongat - - -	0100 00 00
From S^r Richard Lloyd - - -	0200 00 00
From M^r Mostian and his mother - - -	0140 00 00
From M^r Penruddock - - - -	0160 00 00
From M^r Bridgeman - - - -	1000 00 00
From M^r Walley - - - - -	0100 00 00
From M^r Henn - - - -	0100 00 00
From M^r Vaughan - - - -	0100 00 00
From Alderman Walley - - -	0300 00 00
	6970 00 00

We have taken a particular view of all the Summes of money mentioned to be Received by John Ashburnham for our use on this side the leafe And doe knowe the same to be true accordinglie And doe allow thereof The same having been done by our especiall appoyntment.

CHARLES R.

CHARLES R.

From Mr Hatton	0050 00 00
From Mr Euellin	0100 00 00
From Mr May for Doctor Turnor	0100 00 00
From the Lord Digby for I. D.	0500 00 00
From May more	0050 00 00
From Mr Hynton for an unknowne person	0099 00 00
From Mr Maltus	0100 00 00
From the Maior of Oxford	0500 00 00
From the Privy Purse	0600 00 00
From Sr Walter Pye	0260 00 00
From Doctor Ducke	3800 00 00
From Doctor Crofts	0050 00 00
From Sr Christopher Neuill	0100 00 00
From the Vice Chancellor & University of Oxon	0300 00 00
From Mr Edmund Turnor	0100 00 00
From Sr Gervase Scroope	0790 00 00
From the Lord Bishopp of Sarum	0100 00 00
From Doctor Steward for Doctor Bennett	0100 00 00
From Mr Challoner and others by Mr Eeds	0500 00 00
	8199 00 00

We have taken a particular view of all the summes of money mentioned to be Received by John Ashburnham for our use, on this side the leafe And doe knowe the same to be true accordingly. And doe allow thereof The same having been done by our Especiall Appoyntment.

CHARLES R.

CHARLES R.

From Mr John Carey for the persons following viz.		
From the Lord Maynard	£ 50	0880 00 00
From Sr Thomas Bonnefield	200	
From Mr Osbaldston	300	
From Mr Cordwall	200	
From Mr Adams	50	
From Mr Halton	60	
From Mr Binlaus	20	
From Mr Greaves		0030 00 00
From an unknowne person by Sr Peter Wyche		2000 00 00
From P. P. by Mr Markham		2995 10 00
From the Lord Craven by Sr Wm Russell		4000 00 00
From the Lord Spencer by Sr Wm Russell		2000 00 00
From Sr Robert Napper		0500 00 00
From Winchester Colledge		0400 00 00
From Mr Launcelott Lake		0100 00 00
From an unknowne person by the Mr of ye Rolls		0950 00 00
From Mr Leigh of Glocestershire		0100 00 00
From Doctor Marsh by the Bpp of Sarum		0100 00 00
		14055 10 00

We have taken a particular view of all the summes of money mentioned to be received by John Ashburnham for our use on this side of the leafe and doe know the same to be true accordingly, And doe allowe thereof, The same having been done by our especiall appoyntment.

CHARLES R.

CHARLES R.

From M^r White	0100 00 00
From the Lord Dunsmore for S^r Thomas Holt	0065 00 00
From the Earle of Danby	1500 00 00
From the Lord Scudamour	0225 00 00
From S^r John Lucas by S^r William Walter	0300 00 00
From the Deane of Christ Church	0600 00 00
From Merton Colledge	0400 00 00
From the Lady Horwood	0158 00 00
From M^r Thomas Morgan	0100 00 00
From M^r Cornish	0400 00 00
From Doctor Radcliff	0150 00 00
From M^r Hudson	0500 00 00
From S^r Edmund Sayer	0100 00 00
From the Lord Cottington's man	0151 19 00
From M^r Hampden	0500 00 00
From the Cittie of Oxon	0520 00 00
From M^r Yates	0500 00 00
From M^r Marloe	0065 00 00
From S^r William Botteler	0200 00 00
	6534 19 00

We have taken a particular view of all the summes of money mentioned to be Received by John Ashburnham for our use on this side the leafe And doe know the same to be true accordinglie. And doe allowe thereof. The same having been done by our especiall appoyntment.

CHARLES R.

CHARLES R.

From Mr Jones for the persons following. viz.

From Mr Leuiston	1000 00 00
From an unknowne person	1000 00 00
From P. P.	2000 00 00
From I. I.	1040 00 00
From Sr Richard Wynne	2000 00 00
From Mr Rogers for others	0200 00 00
From A. P.	2000 00 00
From I. N.	3000 00 00
From Sr Walter Pye	1700 00 00
From Mr Bland	0500 00 00
From Mr Cockshott	0225 00 00
From Sr Richard Wynne more	1000 00 00
From Mr Bradley	1000 00 00
From Mr Marsham	0500 00 00
From G. P.	0200 00 00
From the Lord Newburgh for Sr Thomas Bpp	0200 00 00
From I. H.	2500 00 00
From Mr Bickerstaff for others	0420 00 00
	20485 00 00

We have taken a particular view of all the summes of mony mentioned to be received by John Ashburnham for Our use on this side ye leafe And doe know the same to be true accordingly. And doe allow thereof the same having been done by Our Especiall appoyntment.

CHARLES R.

CHARLES R.

From S^{r} Stephen Scott	0100 00 00
From S^{r} Thomas Chamberlaine	0800 00 00
From S^{r} Thomas Gage	0066 08 07
From the Bishopp of Hereford by the Lo: Herbert	0500 00 00
From M^{r} Gumbleton	0050 00 00
From M^{r} Butterworth	0050 00 00
From Doctor Potter	1000 00 00
From the B^{pp} of Sarum for M^{r} C	0200 00 00
From S^{r} John Baker	0500 00 00
From L. B. for Mr. John Aselrobe	0225 00 00
From E. S. for severall persons by the Ma^{r} of y^{e} Rolls	0300 00 00
From the Lord Dunsmore	0040 00 00
From the Lady Farmer	1500 00 00
From the Lord Percy	0136 00 00
From S^{r} John Terringham	0040 00 00
From M^{r} Rogers	0010 00 00
From S^{r} Gabriell Lowe	0096 19 06
From the Earle of Danby	1900 00 00
From M^{r} Freeman	0200 00 00
	7714 08 01

We have taken a particular view of all the summes of mony mentioned to be Received by John Ashburnham for Our use on this side the leafe. And doe knowe the same to be true accordingly. And doe allow thereof The same having been done by our Especiall appoyntment.

CHARLES R.

CHARLES R.

From Mr Hyde of Salisbury	1000 00 00
From Mr Greenwood	0050 00 00
From Mr Chamberlaine of	0090 00 00
From Mr Chamberlaine of	0100 00 00
From the Bishopp of Sarum for Mr Jay	0050 00 00
From Doctor Tolson and others	0766 00 00
From Sr John Heydon out of the Emption money	1000 00 00
From Sr Thomas Lee of Honeley Abbey	3000 00 00
From Mr Watson	0500 00 00
From Mr Richbell	0150 00 00
From Mr Walker	0025 00 00
From Sr Wm Pennyman for Mr Bridges	0500 00 00
From the Earle of Carlile for others	0500 00 00
From Mr Walker Secretary	0050 00 00
From Mr Smith by Mr Nevill	0100 00 00
From Mr Hooke for others	0050 00 00
From ye Collectors of the Contribution in Radnorsh:	0260 00 00
From Sr John Wilde a gold Chaine	0105 00 00
From Mr Harding	0100 00 00
	8396 00 00

We have taken a particular view of all the summes of mony mentioned to be Received by John Ashburnham for Our use on this side the leafe. And doe know the same to be true accordinglie. And doe allow thereof The same having been done by our Especiall Appoyntment.

CHARLES R.

CHARLES R.

From Mr Crane	1500	00	00
From the Colledge at Hereford	0120	00	00
From Sr John Smyth of Crabott	0100	00	00
From Mr Saunder Courtupp	0100	00	00
From Mr John Thatcher	0100	00	00
From Robert Boyes, Esq.	0100	00	00
From Thomas Manley, Esq.	0100	00	00
From Walter Evans Clerke	0005	00	00
From Sr ——— Drake	0200	00	00
From Sr George Vaughan	2000	00	00
From L. B.	0040	00	00
From Mr James Nowell	0100	00	00
From Sr Poynings Moore	0100	00	00
From Doctor Hynton	0010	00	00
From Mr Cowdree in Plate	0063	10	03
From Mr Riggs	0150	00	00
From Sr John Hubbard	0500	00	00
From the Ladie Horwood Three dozen of Plate Trenchers, in value	0089	01	07
	5377	11	10

We have taken a particular view of all the summes of money mentioned to be received by John Ashburnham for our use on this side the leafe And doe know the same to be true accordingly, And doe allow thereof, The same having been done by Our Especiall Appoyntment.

CHARLES R.

CHARLES R.

From Sr Thomas Cotton - - - -	0500 00 00
From Mr Willis - - - - -	0050 00 00
From Doctor Steward for his First Fruits - - -	0100 00 00
From Mr Clarke - - - -	0300 00 00
From Mr L. B. - - - -	0050 00 00
From the Lord Newburgh - - - -	0550 00 00
From Sr Richard Lucy - - -	0200 00 00
From Mr Rookes for the Reversion of an Office - -	0200 00 00
From Sr David Cunningham - - - - -	1000 00 00
From Doctor Steward for Mr Langley - - - -	0100 00 00
From Mr Jones for Money received by way of Contribution in the Custome House at Bristoll from the viijth of Augst 1643 to Michaelmass following, as by his Account appeareth - - - - - - - -	0802 10 00
From him more for former Customes due upon the Arreares from Mr Willougbie to Mr Meredith late Customer there - - - - - - - - - - -	0003 03 00
	3855 13 00

We have taken a particular view of all the summes of mony mentioned to be Received by John Ashburnham for our use on this side ye leafe And doe know the same to be true accordinglie And doe allowe thereof The same having been done by our Especiall Appoyntment.

CHARLES R.

CHARLES R.

From him more upon the same Account of Mr Croft	0007 02 00
From him more upon that Account of Mr Day in part of a greater Summe	0100 00 00
From him more of Mr Browne in part of a greater Summe	0070 00 00
From him more of Mr Holworthie being Composition money	0400 00 00
From him more for Composition Mony received by Mr Wytt of Weymouth in the Custome house there	0118 00 00
From him more for Iron sold by Howell Price at Bristoll	5223 10 02
From him more which he received of Mrs Meredith upon the Arrears due for Customes in her husband's time	1300 00 00
From Sr Edward Walgrave	0100 00 00
From an unknowne person	0150 00 00
From Mr Fry	0100 00 00
	7568 12 02

We have taken a particular view of all the summes of mony mentioned to be Received by John Ashburnham for our use on this side the leafe And doe know the same to be true accordingly, And doe allowe thereof The same having been done by Our Especiall Appoyntment.

CHARLES R.

From S^r^ John Hewett	0200	00	00
From M^r^ Richardson	0400	00	00
From M^r^ Tirwhitt	0100	00	00
From M^r^ Holyday	0100	00	00
From M^r^ Glishold	0040	00	00
From M^r^ Ball	0030	00	00
From S^r^ —— Allerton	0150	00	00
From S^r^ Thomas Hampson by Do^r^ Edmunds	0100	00	00
From the Lord Newburgh	0200	00	00
From HER MAIESTIE	0600	00	00
From the Lord Lumley	0300	00	00
From H. C. for others	0330	00	00
From this Cittie of Oxford	2000	00	00
From the Officers of the Alienation Office, Plate to the value of	0385	14	00
From the Maior, Aldermen, and Corporation of the Cittie of Bristoll	9900	00	00
From M^rs^ Horwood for P. P. and others at times	6041	00	00
	20876	14	00

We have taken a particular view of all the summes of mony mentioned to be received by John Ashburnham for our use on this side the leafe, And doe know the same to be true accordingly. And doe allowe thereof, The same having been done by our espsciall Appoyntment.

CHARLES R.

CHARLES R.

From an unknowne person by T. N.	0100 00 00
From Doctor Wall	0300 00 00
From Sr Edmund Bowyer	0050 00 00
From Mrs Colchester	0850 00 00
From Sr Walter Pye and Mr Wm Herbert being part of the Earle of Pembroke's Rents	1320 00 00
From for the reversion of a Teller's place in the Exchequer	0100 00 00
From W. M. ℬ ℬ ℬ	0500 00 00
From the Lord Hatton	2650 00 00
From unknowne persons	0500 00 00
From the Bpp of Bath and Wells	0200 00 00

The Totall of the Receipts is } 162117 : 06 : 10

We have taken a particular view of all the summes of mony mentioned to be Received by John Ashburnham for our use on this side the leafe And doe know the same to be true accordingly And doe allowe thereof, The same having been done by our especiall appoyntment.

CHARLES R.

CHARLES R.

INPRIMIS To S^{r} William Vuedale	06000 00 00
To the Pay-Master Generall of Your Ma^{ties} Armie as by his Acquittances more at large it may appeare	83903 04 07
To the Privy Purse at times as by sundry Acquittances may appeare	14954 18 00
To the Trayne of Artillery as by divers Acquittances may appeare	11104 00 00
To the Lord Generall for his owne Accompt at Sundry payments	01942 10 00
To him more for Gratuities, Rewards, and other Accommodations for Your Ma^{ts} owne Armie and divers Officers and Souldiers in the same, and for Encouragements to manie that have come over to Your Ma^{tie} from y^{e} Rebells	01836 00 00
To the Coferer for Supply of Your Ma^{ts} Houshold as by Acquittances appeares	02280 00 00
To Commissary Pinckney for Victuall	01306 00 00
	123326 12 07

We have taken a particular view of all the summes of money mentioned on this side the leafe to be disbursed by John Ashburnham for our Service And doe knowe the same to be true accordinglie, And doe allowe thereof The same having been issued by our Especiall Appoyntment.

CHARLES R.

CHARLES R.

To Thomas Johnson for the Prince at times	4350 00 00
To the Prisonners at London and elsewhere	0885 00 00
To Mounsieur Laroch	0760 00 00
To the Manufacturers of Match	1445 05 00
To Mr Stevens for Hay	0240 00 00
To the Messengers by your Mats Command	0420 00 00
To Sr Edward Stradling	0534 00 00
To Sr Ralph Dutton	0500 00 00
To Mr La'nion	0150 00 00
To Mr Slingsbie	0020 00 00
To the Earle of Cumberland	0100 00 00
To David Alexander	0010 00 00
To the Earle of Lyndsey	0600 00 00
To the Lord Falkland	0100 00 00
To the Lord Willoughbie	0150 00 00
To Sr William Pennyman	0400 00 00
Charges the first Journey to Cambridge	0026 00 00
For 3 horses and furniture	0033 00 00
To Doctor Chaworth, &c. that went to Cambridge	0109 00 00
	10832 05 00

We have taken a particular view of all the summes of money mentioned to be Disbursed on this side the leafe by John Ashburnham, for our Service And doe know the same to be true accordingly. And doe allow thereof The same having been issued by our Especiall Appoyntment.

CHARLES R.

CHARLES R.

To M^{r} Poolie for 3 journies to Cambridge	0060	00	00
To one that was sent to Paul's head	0200	00	00
To S^{r} John Pennington	0372	16	00
To S^{r} Thomas Gower	0500	00	00
To Edward Carvile for Dispatches	0010	00	00
To M^{r} Herbert Price	0200	00	00
To Slaughter and Moyle two Officers	0078	00	00
To two Dutch Engineeres	0040	00	00
To W^{m} Murray and Tho. Killegrew	0100	00	00
To Captaine Ellis	0120	00	00
To Collonell Gerrard	0750	00	00
For Carriages from Nottingham	0017	00	00
To Collonell Shelley	0030	00	00
To M^{r} Frecheuille	0800	00	00
For Carriages from Wellington	0003	00	00
To the Earle of Darby	0140	00	00
To S^{r} Thomas Aston	0450	00	00
To M^{r} Bridgeman	0200	00	00
To S^{r} Thomas Dallison	0100	00	00
	4170	16	00

We have taken a particular view of all the summes of mony mentioned on tbis side the leafe to be disbursed by John Ashburnham, for our Service, And doe know the same to be true accordinglie, And doe allow thereof, The same having been issued by our Especiall appoyntment.

CHARLES R.

CHARLES R.

To a poore man that was injur'd by Souldiers	0001 00 00
To the Duke of Richmond's Servant	0060 00 00
To the Lord Digby	0200 00 00
To Sr Edward Fitton	0105 00 00
To one Pearson for Swords	0050 00 00
To Sr John Beommont his Regiment	0200 00 00
To the Lord Craford at times	0150 00 00
To Henrich Van-rave Granadier	0085 00 00
To 3 Scottish Officers two Stuarts and Colbrith	0057 00 00
To Sr William Killigrew	0680 00 00
To the Guard for keeping prisonners	0030 00 00
To Prince Maurice	0300 00 00
To the scout Mr Generall	0050 00 00
To Mr Sneade	0050 00 00
For 5 wagon horses and a saddle nagg for ye Prince	0060 00 00
To Hester by the Prince's command	0005 00 00
To Mr Prodgers	0030 00 00
To a poore man at Edgecoate	0010 00 00
To the Printing Press	0005 00 00
	2128 00 00

We have taken a particular view of all the Summes of money mentioned on this side the leafe to be disbursed by John Ashburnham for our use and service And doe know the same to be true accordingly And doe allowe thereof The same having been issued by our Especiall appoyntment.

CHARLES R.

CHARLES R.

To Eight Officers that went into Sussex	0050 00 00
To M^{r} Evellin for Victuall	0060 00 00
To Coll: Blagg's Regiment as gift	0020 00 00
For Pike staves	0055 05 00
To Lieu^{t} Vavasour who was hurt	0010 00 00
To Major Courtney	0100 00 00
To M^{r} Evellin for Match	0020 00 00
To M^{r} Holborne's man for service	0005 00 00
To Coll: Blagg towards a Magazin	0400 00 00
To Prince Rupert	2100 00 00
To S^{r} Robert Howard's Dragoons	0100 00 00
To M^{r} Chillingworth for money disburs'd	0020 00 00
To Collonel Blagg	0050 00 00
To the Officers at Brill as gift	0040 00 00
To a Seaman that came from London	0003 00 00
To one Morris a wounded Trooper	0010 00 00
To the Harbingers at times	0200 00 00
To the ffootmen at times	0090 00 00
To S^{r} Nicholas Byron	0050 00 00
	3383 05 00

We have taken a particular view of all the Summes of money mentioned on this side the leafe to be disbursed by John Ashburnham for our Service And doe know the same to be true accordingly And doe allowe thereof The same having been done by our Especiall Appoyntment.

CHARLES R.

CHARLES R.

To Major Woodhouse	0020 00 00
To M^r Throckmorton	0020 00 00
To Degomme Engineere	0060 00 00
To Captaine Townesend	0020 00 00
To the Gun-smiths as your Ma^{ts} gift	0020 00 00
To them more upon Accompt	0020 00 00
To the Widow Hayes	0007 00 00
For conveying money from Worcester	0003 05 00
To Sir Francis Wortley	0050 00 00
To M^r Heron for change of Gold	0037 10 00
To Degomme and Taylor to raise 2 Companies	0100 00 00
To Langley for his charges in bringing downe y^e Gunsmiths	0034 12 06
To M^r Kirton for the Prince	0200 00 00
To Captaine Hay	0010 00 00
To Coll: Washington to raise Dragoons (by y^e Lo: Falkland)	0300 00 00
To Captaine Trist	0050 00 00
To Captaine Normanville	0015 00 00
To Captaine Lydall	0010 00 00
To the Comptroller of your Ma^{ts} house	0200 00 00
	1177 07 06

We have taken a particular view of all the summes of money mentioned on this side the leafe to be disbursed by John Ashburnham for our service And doe know the same to be true accordingly And doe allow thereof The same having been issued by our especiall appoyntment.

CHARLES R.

CHARLES R.

To Edw: Talbott for fetching money (his charges)	0003	13	06
To S^{r} Henry Radley	0060	00	00
For change and returning the Lady Sidley's money	0022	00	00
To a Sweade for his good Service	0030	00	00
To Langley for Wax-Lights	0010	00	00
To Collonell Pert	0020	00	00
To M^{r} John Carey for Exchange of money	0004	13	00
To Captaine Sackvile for a Recruit	0005	00	00
To the Lord Bernard for his Officers	0300	00	00
To M^{r} Grant Wagon M^{r} generall	0140	00	00
To Captaine Greenfield	0010	00	00
To the Yeomen of the Guard	0080	00	00
To the Quarter-Master generall	0140	00	00
To M^{r} Thrupp for Powder	0040	00	00
To Thomas Henn	0010	00	00
To Major Barzey	0020	00	00
To Captaine Rowland Gwyn	0051	05	00
To Lieutenant Generall Willmott	0100	00	00
To Collonell Thomas Howard	0200	00	00
	1246	11	06

We have taken a particular view of all the summes of money mentioned on this side the leafe to be disbursed by John Ashburnham for our service And doe know the same to be true accordingly And doe allowe thereof The same having been issued by our Especiall appoyntment.

CHARLES R.

CHARLES R.

To Captaine Leighton being wounded	0040 00 00
To another wounded Captaine	0010 00 00
To 3 gent that came from the Rebells	0030 00 00
To Captaine Blount	0005 00 00
To Sebish an Engineere	0030 00 00
To Widow Carey	0020 00 00
To Widow Simpson	0003 00 00
To one of the Prince's Groomes at Titbury	0050 00 00
To Major Saunders	0030 00 00
To Captaine Jefferies	0010 00 00
To one Ludbrooke a maim'd Trooper	0005 00 00
To Mrs Jordane	0020 00 00
To Captaine Beek	0010 00 00
For bringing Mr Freeman's money	0001 00 00
To Whitehead the Scout	0050 00 00
To Lieutenant Coll: Richley	0050 00 00
To one Sincleere a wounded Scotchman	0005 00 00
To Captaine Bendish	0010 00 00
To Sr Jacob Astley	0050 00 00
	0429 00 00

We have taken a particular view of all the summes of mony mentioned on this side the leafe to be disbursed by John Ashburnham for or service And doe know the same to be true accordingly And doe allowe thereof The same having been done by our Especiall Appoyntment.

CHARLES R.

CHARLES R.

To the Ma^{r} of the Rolls for mony by him disburs'd for your Ma^{ties} Service		
To an Engineere y^{t} was sent to y^{e} Lo. Capell	£15	0036 00 00
For 55 Swords that were sent to y^{e} Magazin	16	
For Twentie five Swords and Bills	3	
To divers persons for Intelligence	2	
To M^{r} Jones for the Exchange of 20485 into gold		0425 00 00
To Drumme major Oatley's wife		0012 00 00
To one Dalton a wounded Trooper		0005 00 00
To Major Hutchinson		0020 00 00
To S^{r} Lewis Dives for Intelligence		0100 00 00
To Captaine Alford		0040 00 00
To the Earle of Lyndsey's Captaine Lieut:		0020 00 00
To the Powder maker		0400 00 00
To Lieutenant Collonell Balweir		0020 00 00
To S^{r} V. M. for secrett Service		0050 00 00
To a woman whose husband was slaine		0003 06 00
To S^{r} William Brouncker		0020 00 00
To S^{r} Art: Aston for Intelligence		0050 00 00
		1001 06 00

We have taken a particular view of all the sums of mony mentioned on this side the leafe to be disbursed by John Ashburnham for our Service And doe know the same to be true accordingly And doe allow thereof The same having been issued by our Especiall appoyntment.

CHARLES R.

CHARLES R.

For Prince Rupert's dyett	0380	00	00
To Captaine Jackson	0070	00	00
To S^r Robert Howard's Lieut: Collonell	0005	00	00
To M^r Dennis for Cloth, &c. for Souldiers	0250	00	00
To Cocken a printer by M^r Jones	0200	00	00
Miscarried out of M^r Jones his money	0650	00	00
For Returne of S^r I. I. Money	0040	00	00
To him that brought the Earle of Carlile's money	0002	00	00
For money short in S^r Tho: Lee's money	0005	12	00
To him y^t brought S^r —— Drake's money	0001	00	00
To Maltus for hay	0031	00	00
To 3 gentlemen for secrett service	0150	00	00
To S^r William Killigrewes man for a journey into y^e west	0005	00	00
To Wecherlin for a forraine dispatch	0020	00	00
To one imployd to the Lord Hopton	0010	00	00
To the Lord Percy for a forraine dispatch	0020	00	00
To Toby for a dispatch	0010	00	00
To one Ingram imployd into the West	0007	00	00
To Do^r Cox imployd into the West	0005	00	00
To the Lord Hopton	0600	00	00
	2461	12	00

We have taken a particular view of all the summes of money mentioned on this side the leafe to be disbursed by John Ashburnham for o^r service And doe knowe the same to be true accordingly And doe allowe thereof The same having been issued by our Especiall appoyntment.

CHARLES R.

CHARLES R.

To M^{r} Tompkins imployd to the Queene	0010 00 00
To two Yeomen of the Guard	0002 00 00
To a poore Woman whose husband was slayne	0002 00 00
To one imployd on Secrett service	0020 00 00
To S^{r} Art: Aston for certaine Matrosses	0003 00 00
For Lynnen for your Ma^{tie}	0009 00 00
To the Widow Beven	0006 00 00
For a Recreut in Col: Bard's Companie	0005 00 00
To M^{r} Rhodes to provide Drumme and Colours for practizing the greate horse	0005 00 00
To Peter Mabor	0005 00 00
To Doctor Steward for some Chaplaines	0050 00 00
To Collonell Cockran	0110 00 00
To S^{r} Walter Pye for money disburs'd	0260 00 00
To Captaine Aston	0005 00 00
For Carrying money to Abbingdon	0000 12 06
To Harrison one of y^{e} Guard for a journey and a horse lost in your Ma^{ts} Service	0015 00 00
To Ensigne Manning	0010 00 00
	0517 12 06

We have taken a particular view of all the summes of money mentioned on this side the leafe to be disbursed by John Ashburnham for our Service And doe knowe the same to be true accordingly And doe allow thereof The same having been issued by our Especiall appoyntment.

CHARLES R.

CHARLES R.

To M^{r} Henry Wood for payment of the Northerne Regiments that came along with her Majestie out of the North One week's pay	0800 06 06
To Warham Jemmett for two Westerne gent	0010 00 00
To Captaine Scroope and 3 other Capt^{s} prisonners	0040 00 00
To Elizabeth Carter for gun mettle	0013 00 00
For bringing Plate from y^{e} Lord Craford	0005 00 00
For bringing y^{e} money from S^{r} Drake	0000 00 00
To certaine poore souldiers	0002 00 00
For bringing Plate and money from Bristoll	0006 10 00
To M^{r} Tompkins for secrett service	0020 00 00
To M^{r} May for money lost by yo^{r} Ma^{tie}	0020 00 00
To Edward Carvile for Engines at Glocester, and other charges in your Majestie's service there	0014 10 00
To one whose Eyes were shott out	0005 00 00
For a present of Fowle	0001 00 00
To x wounded Troopers of y^{e} Ea: of Carnarvon's	0030 00 00
	0967 06 06

We have taken a particular view of all the summes of money mentioned on this side the leafe to be disbursed by John Ashburnham for our Service And doe know the same to be true accordingly And doe allow thereof The same having been issued by our especiall appoyntment.

CHARLES R.

CHARLES R.

To Robinson, Trunck Carrier	0005 00 00
To the Lo: Wentworth's Dragoons	0100 00 00
For a horse for the Prince	0020 00 00
To one Percy a wounded Trooper	0005 00 00
To Mr Howson for repairing one of your Majestie's Coaches	0030 00 00
To Captaine Snelling for two journies from Prince Maurice and back	0010 00 00
To Collonell Lyndsey	0020 00 00
To D'ausque	0030 00 00
To Henry Bedborough	0010 00 00
To Lieutent Coll: Gerrard	0020 00 00
To Mr Paddon	0010 00 00
To Collonell Wagstaff	0200 00 00
To Sr John Beommont	0100 00 00
To the Lord Grandison	0300 00 00
To Mr Metcalf Apothecary	0050 00 00
To Thomas West	0010 00 00
To Mr Crisp at Bristoll his fee	0060 00 00
	0980 00 00

We have taken a particular view of all the summes of mony mentioned on this side the leafe to be disbursed by John Ashburnham for our service And doe know the same to be true accordingly And doe allowe thereof The same having been issued by our Especiall appoyntment.

CHARLES R.

CHARLES R.

To Doctor Caddeman - - - -	0015 00 00
To Major Jukes - - - -	0020 00 00
To Major Saunders - - - -	0020 00 00
To Gough for Intelligence - - -	0005 00 00
To Winter Grant Wagon-M^r^-generall - -	0040 00 00
To Heralt for a forraine dispatch - -	0020 00 00
To Burbage Church - - - -	0010 00 00
To Collonell Darcy - - - -	0100 00 00
To Captaine Lovett - - - -	0015 00 00
To S^r^ John Pennington - - -	2000 00 00
To Major Sincleere - - - -	0040 00 00
To Collonell Lyndsey - - -	0020 00 00
To Collonell Lloyd and Degomme - - - -	0100 00 00
To Lieutenant Coll: Littleton - - -	0050 00 00
To M^rs^ Burgenny Laundress - - -	0020 00 00
To Collonell Herbert - - -	0100 00 00
To Collonell Blackwall - - - -	0100 00 00
To Your Ma^ts^ Footmen - - -	0030 00 00
To the Sumptermen and Bottlemen - - -	0006 00 00
	2711 00 00

We have taken a particular view of all the summes of money mentioned on this side the leafe to be disbursed by John Ashburnham for our Service And doe know the same to be true accordingly and doe allowe thereof The same having been issued by our especiall appoyntment.

CHARLES R.

CHARLES R.

To Lieutenant Collonell Nowell - - -	0010	00	00
To Atkinson the pad-man - - - -	0010	00	00
To two of your Ma^{ts} Coachmen - -	0020	00	00
To the Guard - - - -	0020	00	00
To Alexander Sayer - - - -	0010	00	00
To Vanhacke for Armes - - -	1000	00	00
For Trunckes to convey money and plate from Bristoll to Oxford - - - - - -	0016	00	00
For carrying money to Matsdowne - -	0003	05	00
To M^{r} Thrupp of Bristoll his half yeares fee - -	0028	00	00
To a Groome of the Chamber - - - -	0002	00	00
To Captaine Morton for Intelligence - -	0001	00	00
To S^{r} Edward Sydenham for Intelligence - -	0001	00	00
For Salt - - - -	0004	01	00
To Thomas Gower - - - -	0002	08	00
Fees for two Buckes - - - -	0001	00	00
To the Duke of Richmond for money lost at play by your Majestie - - - -	0012	00	00
For bringing Letters - - - -	0000	15	00
	1141	09	00

We have taken a particular view of all the summes of money mentioned on this side the leafe to be disbursed by John Ashburnham for our service And doe know the same to be true accordingly And doe allowe thereof. The same having been issued by our Especiall appoyntment.

CHARLES R.

CHARLES R.

To John Blakiston	0001 00 00
To William Brooke	0002 00 00
To Cloth S^{r} Gilbert Gerrard's Regiment	0100 00 00
To divers Chaplaines and Chirurgeons of for their Entertainments and Supplyes according to their Commissions as by their Acquittances may appeare	1288 14 00
To the Messengers for divers Post Journeyes in your Ma^{ties} Service as by their Post Warrants and respective Acquittances may appeare	0530 18 04
For allowance in Coynage of Plate part of the Two Thousand pounds presented by the Cittie of Oxford	0001 10 00
For allowance in Coynage of Plate part of the mentioned Summe brought in by the Vice-Chancellour and Doctors of y^{e} Universitie of Oxford	0005 06 00
To the Lord Byron	0200 00 00
	2129 08 04

We have taken a particular view of all the summes of money mentioned on this side the leafe to be disbursed by John Ashburnham for our Service And doe know the same to be true accordingly And doe allow thereof, The same having been issued by our Especiall appoyntment.

CHARLES R.

CHARLES R.

For allowance in Coynage of Plate that was brought in part of the Earle of Danbyes nineteene hundred pounds -	- - 0008 15 00
To S^{r} Jacob Astley for payment of the Common Souldiers of sundry Regiments for their Labours in the workes before Glocester, and for other Rewards -	- - 0600 00 00
To one that brought a presented horse to your Majestie - - -	- - 0005 00 00
To M^{r} Jones for his fee and Charges in surveying the Out Ports, Collecting money there, and divers other services	- - - 0200 00 00
To S^{r} Edward Hyde - - -	- 0100 00 00
To M^{r} Evellin for Match - - -	- 0100 00 00
To Lawrence Gambe - - -	- 0030 00 00
To Lieutenant Collonell Poore - -	- 0080 00 00
To Mounsieur Mountgarnier at times - -	- 0350 00 00
	1473 00 00

We have taken a particular view of all the summes of money mentioned on this side the leafe to be disbursed by John Ashburnham for our Service And doe know the same to be true accordingly And doe allow thereof The same having been issued by our Especiall appoyntment.

CHARLES R.

CHARLES R.

To Captaine Dabscoat by Mr Ryder	0010 00 00
To Sr Jacob Astley	0100 00 00
To Mounsieur Sanravy	0200 00 00
Charges in weighing Iron at Bristoll	0104 17 02
To Mr Mynnes Agent for factorage	0040 00 00
To Mrs Freeman ye Prince's Laundress	0005 00 00
For a present of Fowle	0002 00 00
To Byssell Commissary for the sick	0100 00 00
To Sr W. G. for secrett service	0050 00 00
To Lieutenant Coll: Weston	0010 00 00
To Robert Cross by your Mts command	0010 00 00
To Coll: Washington at twice	0290 00 00
To Mr Creswick	0120 00 00
To Collonell Fielding	0050 00 00
To Collonell Bampfield	0045 10 00
To Captaine William Wynn	0020 00 00
To Edward Carvile	0040 00 00
To the Lord Byron	0200 00 00
To Mr Barker the Prince's Avener	0050 00 00
To Lieut Lee by Mr Nevill	0005 00 00
	1452 07 02

We have taken a particular view of all the sumes of money mentioned on this side the leafe to be disbursed by John Ashburnham for our service And doe know the same to be true accordingly, and doe allow thereof The same having been done by our Especiall Appointment.

CHARLES R.

CHARLES R.

For money lost by plate in Coynage part of the Maior of Oxons 500*l.*	0003 04 02
To M^{r} Barrowes for Lynnen for your Ma^{tie} and the prince's highness	0100 00 00
Clerkes fees, books, paper, parchment, and other things incident to Accompts	0120 00 00
To George Howman for S^{r} John Beommont	0040 00 00
To Collonell Inneis	0050 00 00
For Captaine Trigg's buriall	0005 00 00
To W^{m} Hewes Clerke of the Checque to the Messengers	0200 00 00
	0518 04 02

The Totall of the Disbursements is } 162047 : 03 : 03

We have taken a particular view of all the sumes of money mentioned on this side the leafe to be disbursed by John Ashburnham for our service And doe know the same to be true accordingly And doe allow thereof The same having been done by our Especiall Appoyntment.

CHARLES R.

The Totall of the Receipts is One hundred Sixty Two Thousand One hundred and Seaventeene pounds, Six shillings, and Tenn pence.

The Totall of the Disbursements is One hundred Sixty Two Thousand fourty seaven pounds, Three shillings, and Three pence.

Soe there is due from the Accomptant to ballance this Accompt the Summe of Seaventy pounds, Three Shillings, and Seaven pence.

Memorandum. That John Browne gent, servant to John Ashburnham Esq. came before Us the first day of August, in the yeare of our Lord 1645 and in the 21st yeare of the Reigne of our Soveraigne Lord King Charles by Virtue of his Majestie's Commission under the Great Seale of England bearing date at Oxford the xxth of July last past, to Us and others directed, and made Oath as followeth, viz.

I John Browne servant to John Ashburnham Esq. doe depose, That about the 24th of November 1642, I entred into my Master's Service, and was from that time to the 26th of October 1643, solely ymployed in the Receipt and Payment of all such monies as came to my Master's hands for his Majestie's Use, and kept the Accompt thereof myself. That this Accompt now shewed unto me, containing six leaves and a half of Receipts, is my owne hand writing, and that all and every the Summes of money therein particularly charged to be Received by my Master, past through my hands, and are truly and justly charged, except only such Summes as are heereafter expressed, viz.

From Mr Pooly at times	5118 : 00 : 00
From Dr Chaworth and Doctor Jansen	10667 : 14 : 03
From the Bpp of Sarum	0500 : 00 : 00
From Dr Lambe	0100 : 00 : 00
From Sr Wm Botteler by Sir Xpofer Hatton	0200 : 00 : 00
From the Towne of Nottingham	0500 : 00 : 00

From the Lord Ruthin - -	0100 : 00 : 00
From Alderman Walley - -	0300 : 00 : 00
From Mr Mostyn - -	0140 : 00 : 00
From the Deane of Chester's man -	0050 : 00 : 00
From Mr Penruddock - -	0160 : 00 : 00
From Mr Porter - -	0040 : 00 : 00
From Sr John Byron - - -	0670 : 00 : 00
From his Majestie's owne hands -	0105 : 00 : 00
Amounting in all to	18650 : 14 : 03

Which monies were received by my Master before I came to his Service. And I doe verily thinke that neither my said Master, nor any other by his allowance or appointment, did receive for his Majestie's use within the time before mentioned, anie other Summes of monie than what are particularly herein acknowledged and declared; only that Mr Cadwallader Jones about the 23d of October, being three dayes before the determination of this Accompt, did receive out of the Exchequer for my Master (who was newly made Treasurer at Warre) upon a Privy Seale for £100,000. the Sume £2500. which is charg'd in my Master's Accompt as Treasurer at Warrs. And further I doe depose, that the particular Payments and Disbursements, conteyned in Nine leaves and a half now shewed unto me, are also my owne hand writing, and were all paid and issued through my hands, or to my knowledge. And are justlie and truly set downe; except only the particulars heereafter express'd, viz.

To M^r Leviston	4800 : 00 : 00
To S^r Edward Stradling	1034 : 08 : 00
To M^r Lanion	0150 : 00 : 00
To S^r Ralph Dutton	0500 : 00 : 00
To M^r Slingsby	0020 : 00 : 00
To the Earle of Cumberland	0100 : 00 : 00
To David Alexander	0010 : 00 : 00
To the Lord Willoughby	0100 : 00 : 00
To the Earle of Lindsey	0600 : 00 : 00
To S^r W^m Pennyman	0400 : 00 : 00
For charges to Cambridge	0026 : 00 : 00
For 3 Horses and furniture	0033 : 00 : 00
To Do^r Chaworth	0109 : 00 : 00
To M^r Pooly	0060 : 00 : 00
To one y^t was sent to Paul-head	0200 : 00 : 00
To S^r W^m Vuedale	6000 : 00 : 00
To S^r John Pennington	0372 : 06 : 00
To S^r Thomas Gower	0500 : 00 : 00
To W^m Murray and Tho. Killigrew	0100 : 00 : 00
To the Comptroller of his Majestie's house	0400 : 00 : 00
To the Lord Falkland	0100 : 00 : 00
To Herbert Price	0200 : 00 : 00
To La Roche	0080 : 00 : 00
To Moyle and Haughter	0060 : 00 : 00
To M^r John Freckeuille	0800 : 00 : 00
To two Dutch Engineers	0040 : 00 : 00
To Captaine Ellis	0020 : 00 : 00
To Collonell Gerrard	0500 : 00 : 00
For Carriages to Nottingham	0017 : 00 : 00

To Collonell Shelley - - -	0010 : 00 : 00
To a Messenger - - - -	0005 : 00 : 00
For Carriage from Wellington -	0003 : 00 : 00
To the Earle of Darby - - -	0140 : 00 : 00
To S^r Thomas Aston - - -	0150 : 00 : 00
To M^r Bridgeman - - -	0200 : 00 : 00
To one injur'd by Soldiers - -	0001 : 00 : 00
To S^r John Haydon - - -	0500 : 00 : 00
To the Duke of Richmond - -	0020 : 00 : 00
To the Lord Ethrick - - -	0160 : 00 : 00
To Edward Carvill - - -	0010 : 00 : 00
To S^r Edw. Fitton - - -	0105 : 00 : 00
Amounting in all to	18635 : 14 : 00

Which Monies were disbursed by my Master before I tooke Charge of his business; but I doe in my Conscience beleeve they are likewise true; for that I have seene the particular Vouchers for most part of them.

JOHN BROWNE.

Iurat primo die August supradict
Coram nob:

[1]COTTINGTON.
[2]RICHARD LANE. [3]RIC: WESTON.
[4]ORL: BRIDGEMAN.

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[1] Lord High Treasurer.

[2] Chief Baron of the Exchequer.

[3] Baron of the Exchequer 1641.

[4] Attorney of the Court of Wards.

Memorandum. That John Ashburnham, Esq. came before Us this 29th day of August in the yeare of our Lord God 1645, and in the xxjst yeare of the Reigne of our Soveraigne Lord King Charles by virtue of his Majestie's Commission under the Great Seale of England bearing date at Oxford the xxth of July last to us and others directed and made Oath as followeth; viz.

I John Ashburnham doe depose that this booke of Accompt conteyning Six Leaves and a half of Receipts and nine Leaves and a half of Disbursements (each leafe signed by his Majestie) is a just and true accompt to the best of my knowledge. And I doe verily beleeve that all and every the Summes of mony therein express'd to be received or disburs'd are truly and justly set downe and declared. And further that I know not of any other Sum or Sums of mony received by me, or by any other person or persons by my directions or appoyntment for his Majestie's use betweene the first of April 1642, and the 26th of October 1643, being the whole time of this Accompt, save what are herein really acknowledged (except only the 2500*l.* in the precedent affidavit mentioned) to be received by this Deponent out of the Exchequer upon his Majestie's Privy Seale of 100,000*l.* as Treasurer at Warrs.

JOHN ASHBURNHAM.

Iurat 29° die Augusti coram nob. 1645.

COTTINGTON. RIC: WESTON.

RICHARD LANE.

ORL: BRIDGEMAN. *THO: GARDINER.

* Solicitor General.

II.

The following extracts from the Ledger for the year 1643 will shew of what regiments the King's army consisted at that time, and the names of their respective colonels; which information, it is presumed, may be to some readers not wholly uninteresting.

The King's Life Guard.
The Queen's Life Guard.
The Lord General's Regiment.
Colonel Aston's Regiment.
The Earl Rivers' Regiment.
Colonel Blagg's Regiment.
The Earl of Northampton's Regiment.
Colonel Villiers' Regiment.
Colonel Tilseley's Regiment.
Sir Gilbert Gerrard's Regiment.
Colonel Charles Gerrard's Regiment.
Colonel Richard Herbert's Regiment.
Colonel Godfrey's Regiment.
Sir Louis Dives's Regiment.
The Lord Percy's Regiment.
Colonel Pinchbeck's Regiment.
The Train of Artillery.

III.

Stat. 10. *Hen. VII.*

Chap. iv.

AN Act that no Parliament be holden in this Land until the Acts be certified into England. Rot. Parl. cap. 9.

Item, at the request of the commons of the land of Ireland, be it ordained, enacted and established, That at the next Parliament that there shall be holden by the King's commandment and licence, wherein amongst other, the King's grace entendeth to have a general resumption of his whole revenues sith the last day of the reign of King Edward the second, no Parliament be holden hereafter in the said land, but at such season as the King's lieutenant and counsaile there first do certifie the King, under the great seal of that land, the causes and considerations, and all such acts as them seemeth should pass in the same Parliament, and such causes, considerations, and acts affirmed by the King and his counsail to be good and expedient for that land, and his licence thereupon, as well in affirmation of the said causes and acts, as to summon the said Parliament under

No Parliament shall be held in Ireland, 'till the lieutenant and council first certify the King under the great seal, the causes, considerations and acts, and the King's licence in affirmation thereof, and to summon the said Parliament first had under the great seal of England. Ir. 3 and 4 Ph. & M. 4.

his great seal of England had and obtained; that done, a Parliament to be had and holden after the form and effect afore rehearsed: and if any Parliament be holden in that land hereafter, contrary to the form and provision aforesaid, it be deemed void and of none effect in law. Ir. Stat. 28 Hen. VIII. 4 and 20. II. Eliz. 1 and 8.

Any Parliament held contrary void.

Stat. 11. *Eliz. Sess.* 3.

Chap. viii.

An Act that there be no Bill certified into England, for the Repeal or Suspending of the Statute, past in Poynings Time, before the same Bill be first agreed on, in a Session of a Parliament holden in this Realm, by the greater Number of the Lords and Commons. Rot. Parl. cap. 18.

Where upon experiment of the right honourable Sir Henry Sidney, knight of the noble order of the garter, lord president of Wales, and lord deputie of this your Majestie's realm of Ireland, his great travail and care for the advancement of the glory of God, your Majestie's honour, and the utilitie of the commonwealth of this your Highnesse realm, and an undoubted hope, that his lordship would not seeke the passing of any act, but such as should tend to the furtherance of your Majestie's service, and benefite of your Highnesse realm. Wee your Majestie's subjects assembled in Parliament, assented to the repeal of a statute, passed before Sir Edward Poynings, lord deputie of Ireland,—prohibiting eyther any Parliament to be summoned, or any act to be treated of in Parliament, before the acts were certified under the great seal of this your Majestie's realm, and returned hither under the broad seal of England; before which statute, when libertie was given to the governours under your Majestie's progenitors, to call Parliament at their pleasure, acts passed as well to the dishonour of the Prince, as to the hinderance of their subjects, the remembrance whereof would indeed have stayed us from condiscending to the repeal of the said statute, were it not that the government of your Majestie's deputie, hath been alway, and continueth such as to all your Highnesse subjects, giveth just cause to reckon what proceedeth through his motion to your Highnesse, to be ment onely for the honour of your Majestie, and the common benefit of this

Poynings Stat. 10. H. 7. 4. having been repealed 11 Eliz. 1. Sess. 2. from experiment of, and confidence in Sir H. Sidney, lord deputy, that he would not seek to pass any act, but such as tended to benefit of the Queen and realm.

As before that stat. when governours had liberty to call Parliament at pleasure, acts passed dishonourable to the Prince, and to hindrance of the subject.

your realm, and therefore as we mought safely, so did we willingly agree to the repeal of the said statute; but most gracious Soveraign, fearing that some governours hereafter should hap not to make answere unto the expectation of your Majestie, or your Highnesse heyres and successours, by whom hee should be appointed governour, and not following the example of your Highness deputy, at these presents, will upon affection, or some other respect, abuse the like libertie given him. Wee your Majestie's subjects now assembled in Parliament, do most humbly beseech your Highness, that it may please the same, that it may be enacted. And be it enacted, ordained and established, by your Majestie, with the assent of the lords spirituall and temporall, and the commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authoritie of the same, That hereafter in the government of any other deputie or governour, of this your Majestie's realm, there be no bill certified into England for the repeal, or suspending of the said statute, passed when Sir Edward Poynings was lord deputie of Ireland, before the same bill be first agreed on, in a session of Parliament to bee holden within this realm, by the more number of the lords assembled in parliament, and the greater number of the common house. And if there be that any act passed or to be passed

Least governours hereafter should not follow example of Sir H. Sidney, but upon affection, or other respect abuse the like liberty.

Hereafter no bill shall be certified to England for repeal or suspending Poynings stat. unless first agreed to by a majority of each House of Parliament.

Any act passed, or to be passed

thereupon, touching the repeal, or suspending of the said statute, passed in Sir Edward Poynings government, to be utterly void, and of no effect, to all purposes and intents.

thereupon, touching the repeal or suspending said stat. shall be utterly void.

IV.

Commissary General Ireton *to Colonel* Hammond.

Dear Robin,

Thou wilt receive herewith a letter from the general, by which thou wilt see what tenderness there is here towards thee. I shall not at this distance undertake a dispute concerning our ground or proceedings; but leave thee for the one to our remonstrance; for the other to farther tryal of us. I shall only, in the love of a friend and brother, speak a word or two to that, which I find the ground of thy scruples, against what hath been from hence desired, or rather of thy declared resolution to the contrary.

Thou lookest on thyself as a servant under trust; and so both in honour and conscience obliged to discharge that faithfully. And thus far thou art in the right. But the only measure of that discharge thou takest to be the mere formal observance of commands; and those carrying but that name of power, from which thou apprehendest it was committed to thee. As to the first part, the faithful discharge of the trust, the Lord forbid, that I should tempt thee from it.

Nay, I will charge and challenge it at thy hands, that, with all faithfulness and singleness of heart, as before the Lord, thou perform thy trust to those persons, by whom, and to those public ends and interests, for which it was committed to thee.

But for these things, I shall appeal to the witness of God in thy conscience, as follows:

1. For the persons trusting, whether thou didst receive thy present place from the affections or trust of the formal parliament only, even as then it stood; or whether of the general or army? And whether, so far as thou seemest to have the formality, by way of confirmation from the parliament, it were from any affection or trust of that sort or generation of men, which now, through accident, bear the sway and name? or whether from them, whose judgement and affections are most opposite to the present proceedings there?

2. For the ends, whether thou receivedst thy trust in order to the ends now carried on by the prevailing party there? or whether, in confidence of thy faithfulness, to some other higher and more public ends? Whether for the king's, and the present prevailing faction's; or for the public interest, and the generality of honest men, that have engaged for the same? Upon the answer of thy conscience in these, I propound farther; in

case such persons, as neither did, nor would have committed any such trust unto thee, but only gaining since the name of that power, from which thou hadst the formal compliment of the trust, and yet but partly that, shall require things destructive to, or not for the best advantage of, those public ends, for which really thou receivedst thy trust, and at the same time those, from whose affection and confidence in thee thou hadst the matter of thy power and trust, shall desire and expect from thee other things necessary for the security, or but really for better advantage, of those public ends, for which thou wert trusted, and for the common benefit and interest of that people, for which all pretend their employments and interest, in this case, I say, I shall appeal farther to thy conscience, or but ingenuity, to determine, to which of these several persons, and according to which commands and expectations, thou art to exhibit and approve thy faithfulness in the trust: and whether part to observe and follow is the more real and substantial performance before God, and reasonable men.

I shall not press upon thee, but thus plainly lay the case before thee; only desiring thee not to slight it, but seriously weigh it, as thou tenderest the approving thyself to God and his people. And, I hope, he will not give thee up to such delusion, as to follow an air of honour, and mere form or shadow of faithfulness, to the rejection or neglect of that, which is the reality and substance of both, as surely thou wouldst, if in the present case thou shouldst neither do the thing expected thyself, nor leave it to any other. Dear Robin, I will yet hope God hath better endued thee with truth and judgement in the inner parts, and more sense of his righteous judgements appearing abroad in this age and nation. So I leave thee to his gracious guidance; and the weight of what I have writ, lying not in authority to indemnify thee, but reason to lead thee. I shall not need to subscribe other name than, what I must desire to be known by unto thee,

Thy most dearly
Affectionate and faithful
Friend to serve thee.

Nov. 22d, 1648.

For my dear Friend Col. Hammond,
Governor of the Isle of Wight.

OLIVER CROMWELL *to Colonel* HAMMOND.

DEAR ROBIN, Nov. 25, 1648.

No man rejoyceth more to see a line from thee, than myself. I know thou hast long been under tryal. Thou shalt be no loser by it. All must work for the best. Thou desirest to hear of my experiences. I can tell thee, I am such a one, as thou didst formerly know, having a body of sin and death; but, I thank God, through Jesus Christ our Lord, there is no condemnation, though much infirmity, and I wait for the redemption; and in this poor condition I obtain mercy and sweet consolation through the spirit; and find abundant cause every day to exalt the Lord,—abase flesh. And herein I have some exercise.

As to outward dispensations, if we may so call them; we have not been without our share of beholding some remarkable providences and appearances of the Lord. His presence hath been amongst us, and by the light of his countenance we have prevailed. We are sure, the good will of him, who dwelt in the bush, has shined upon us; and we can humbly say, we know in whom we have believed, who is able, and will perfect what remaineth, and us also in doing what is well pleasing in his eye-sight.

Because I find some trouble in your spirit, occasioned first, not only by the continuance of your sad and heavy burthen, as you call it, upon you; but by the dissatisfaction you take at the ways of some good men, whom you love with your heart, who through this principle, that it is lawful for a lesser part (if in the right) to force, &c.

To the first: Call not your burthen sad nor heavy. If your father laid it upon you; he intended neither. He is the father of lights, from whom comes every good and perfect gift; who of his own will begot us, and bad us count it all joy when such things befall us; they being for the exercise of faith and patience; whereby in the end (James I.) we shall be made perfect.

Dear Robin, our fleshly reasonings ensnare us. These make us say; heavy, sad, pleasant, easy: Was not there a little of this, when Rob. Hammond, through dissatisfaction too, desired retirement from the army, and thought of quiet in the Isle of Wight. Did not God find him out there? I believe he will never forget this.—And now I perceive, he is to seek again, partly through his sad and heavy burthen, and partly through dissatisfaction with friends' actings. Dear Robin, thou and I were never worthy to be doorkeepers in this service. If thou wilt seek, seek to know the mind of God in all that chain of providence, whereby God brought thee thither, and that Person to thee: how before and since God has ordered him, and affairs concerning him. And then tell me, whether there be not some glorious and high meaning in all this, above what thou hast yet attained. And laying aside thy fleshly reason, seek of the Lord to teach thee what that is; and he will do it. I dare be positive to say; it is not, that the wicked should be exalted, that God should so appear, as indeed he hath done. For there is no peace to them: no, it is set upon the hearts of such as fear the Lord, and we have witness upon witness, that it shall go ill with them, and their partakers. I say again, seek that spirit to teach thee; which is the spirit of knowledge and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, of wisdom and of the fear of the Lord. That spirit will close thine eyes, and stop thine ears, so that thou shalt not judge by them; but thou shalt judge for the meek of the earth, and thou shalt be made able to do accordingly. The Lord direct thee to that, which is well pleasing in his eye-sight. As to thy dissatisfactions with friends' actings upon that supposed principle, I wonder not at that. If a man take not his own burthen well, he shall hardly others; especially if involved by so near a relation of love and christian brotherhood, as thou art. I shall not take upon me to satisfy; but I hold myself bound to lay my thoughts before so dear a friend. The Lord do his own will.

You say; "God hath appointed authorities "among the nations, to which active or passive

" obedience is to be yielded. This resides in " England in the parliament. Therefore active " or passive, &c." Authorities and powers are the ordinance of God. This or that species is of human institution, and limited, some with larger, others with stricter bands, each one according to its constitution.—I do not therefore think, the authorities may do any thing, and yet such obedience due; but all agree, there are cases, in which it is lawful to resist. If so, your ground fails, and so likewise the inference. Indeed, dear Robin, not to multiply words, the query is, whether ours be such a case? This ingenuously is the true question. To this I shall say nothing, though I could say very much; but only desire thee to see what thou findest in thy own heart as to two or three plain considerations: First, Whether Salus Populi be a sound position? Secondly, Whether in the way in hand, really and before the Lord, before whom conscience must stand, this be provided for; or the whole fruit of the war like to be frustrated, and all most like to turn to what it was, and worse. And this contrary to engagements, declarations, implicit covenants with those, who ventured their lives upon those covenants and engagements, without whom perhaps, in equity, relaxation ought not to be. Thirdly, Whether this army be not a lawful power, called by God to oppose and fight against the king upon some stated grounds; and being in power to such ends, may not oppose one name of authority for those ends as well as another? the outward authority, that called them, not by their power making the quarrel lawful; but it being so in itself. If so,—it may be, acting will be justified in foro humano. But truly these kind of reasonings may be but fleshly, either with or against; only it is good to try what truth may be in them. And the Lord teach us.

My dear friend, let us look into providences; surely they mean somewhat. They hang so together—have been so constant so clear and unclouded.—Malice, swol'n malice against God's people, now called Saints, to root out their name. And yet they by providence having arms; and therein blessed with defence, and more.

I desire, he, that is for a principle of suffering, would not too much slight this. I slight not him, who is so minded; but let us beware, lest fleshly reasoning see more safety in making use of the principle, than in acting. Who acts, and resolves not through God to be willing to part with all? Our hearts are very deceitful on the right and on the left. What think you of providence disposing the hearts of so many of God's people this way, especially in this poor army, wherein the great God has vouchsafed to appear. I know not one officer amongst us, but is on the increasing hand: and let me say, it is here in the North, after much patience, we trust the same Lord, who hath framed our minds in our actings, is with us in this also. And this, contrary to a natural tendency, and to those comforts, our hearts could wish to enjoy with others. And the difficulties probably to be encountred with, and enemies, not few, even all, that is glorious in this world, with appearance of united names, titles, and authorities, and yet not terrified, only desiring to fear our great God, that we do nothing against his will. Truly this is our condition.

And, to conclude, we in this northern army were in a waiting posture, desiring to see what the Lord would lead us to. And a declaration is put out, at which many are shaken; although we could perhaps have wished the stay of it, till after the treaty: yet, seeing it is come out, we trust to rejoyce in the will of the Lord, waiting his farther pleasure. Dear Robin, beware of men, look up to the Lord. Let him be free to speak, and command in thy heart. Take heed of the things, I fear thou hast reasoned thyself into; and thou shalt be able through him, without consulting flesh and blood to do valiantly for him and for his people. Thou mentionest somewhat, as if by acting against such opposition, as is like to be, there will be a tempting of God. Dear Robin, tempting of God ordinarily is either by acting presumptuously in carnal confidence, or in unbelief through diffidence: both these ways Israel tempted God in the wilderness, and he was grieved with them. The encountring difficulties therefore makes us not to tempt God; but acting before, and without faith. If the Lord have in any measure persuaded his people, as generally he hath, of the lawfulness, nay of the duty; this persuasion prevailing upon the heart is faith, and acting thereupon is acting in faith, and the more the difficulties are, the more faith. And it is most sweet, that he, that is not persuaded, have patience towards them that are, and judge not; and this will free thee from the trouble of others actings; which, thou sayest, adds to thy grief. Only let me offer two or three things, and I have done.

Doest thou not think, that fear of the Levellers (of whom there is no fear) that they would destroy nobility, had caused some to rake up corruption, to find it lawful to make this ruining hypocritical agreement (on one part). Hath not this biassed even some good men? I will not say, their fear will come upon them; but if it do, they will themselves bring it upon themselves. Have not some of our friends by their passive principle (which I judge not, only I think it liable to temptation as well as the active; and neither good, but as we are led into them by God—neither to be reasoned into, because the heart is deceitful) been occasioned to overlook what is just and honest; and think the people of God may have as much, or more good the one way, than the other. Good by this man! against whom the Lord hath witnessed; and whom thou knowest. Is this so in their hearts, or is it reasoned, forced in?—Robin, I have done. Ask we our hearts, whether we think, that, after all these dispensations, the like to which many generations cannot afford, should end in so corrupt reasonings of good men; and should so hit the designings of bad? Thinkest thou in thy heart, that the glorious dispensations of God point out to this, or to teach his people to trust in him, and to wait for better things, when, it may be, better are sealed to many of their spirits? And as a poor looker on, I had rather live in the hope of that spirit, and take my share with them, expecting a good issue, than be led away with the other. This trouble I have been at, because my soul loves thee; and I would not have thee swerve, nor lose any glorious opportunity the Lord puts into thy hand. The Lord be thy counsellor. Dear Robin,

I rest thine,

O. CROMWELL.

Nov. 25th, 1648.

V.

SUPPLEMENTARY EVIDENCES, *obtained from the earl of Clarendon's own authority, in confirmation and illustration of certain facts, arguments, and inferences, advanced in the first part of a Vindication of John Ashburnham's character.*

(1.)

At page 67 of the first volume of this work is inserted an extract from lord Clarendon's History, for the purpose of shewing that the title of *king's market-man,* however facetiously, is not more appropriately bestowed by the noble Historian on J. Ashburnham, than it might be on others, said to be instrumental in the sale of peerages: and that the charge, or suspicion of his having defrauded his majesty, to the amount of five hundred pounds, of the purchase-money is not better warranted than the same would be against some persons similarly engaged in a transaction related by lord Clarendon, but without naming the parties to it.

In order to bring back to the reader's recollection the aforesaid extract it may suffice here briefly to state that—" A young gentleman of " great expectation and of excellent parts, a " member of the house of commons, who had " behaved himself there very well, intimated to a " *friend of his* that, if his father might be made a " baron, he did believe that he might be pre- " vailed with to present his majesty with a good " sum of money. It was proposed to the king; " who had no mind to embrace the proposition. " . . . . However afterwards his majesty was pre- " vailed with to resume the overture, and in a " few days it was perfected, and the gentleman " presented the sum of six thousand pounds to " his majesty."—[This relation is here abridged, but in the original words.]

At the close of the comment on the above passage, transcribed at length in the Vindication, a surmise is intimated, (for reasons then assigned,) that the *friend* of this young gentleman might very possibly have been the chancellor himself. It was not till six years after the conjecture thus hazarded had been committed to writing; and till as many months after the volume, in which it appears, had been printed, that the Author had the satisfaction accidentally to discover, while opening the leaves of the third volume of the History of the Rebellion, page 257, according to the last Oxford edition, that in the original manuscript of the noble Historian the names of all the parties concerned had been given at length: though suppressed in former editions. It there appears that " the gentleman, " living within four or five miles of Shrewsbury," who bought the peerage was " one sir Richard " Newport:" that " his eldest son," who intimated to " a *friend of his*, that his father might be pre- " vailed with to pay" so liberally for it, was " Francis Newport:" and that the " *friend of* " *his*," who in the performance of this drama had been prevailed with to " play lord Pandarus of " Phrygia," was no other than, " Mr. Hyde!"

The barony of Newport of Ercall was created in the year 1642: that of Lucas of Shenfield not till 1645. Hence it is manifest that Mr. Hyde had been employed as his majesty's broker for the sale of one peerage at least long before J. Ashburnham was *named* the " king's market-man" for the same commodity. And hence it is further manifest, that the " mortification, which " the chancellor had undergone during his short " abode at Bristol," where his " office was invaded " by a groom of the bed-chamber," was not the only one of the kind, which he had reason to " take very heavily."

(2.)

The following Letters have been extracted from
" State Papers
" collected by
" Edward Earl of Clarendon
" commencing from the year 1621.
" Containing the Materials from which
" his History of the great Rebellion
" was composed,
" and the Authorities
" on which the Truth of his Relation
" is founded.

These State Papers comprized in three volumes in folio were printed at the Clarendon press, Oxford; in the years 1767-73 and 86.

His Majesty to the lords Jermyn and Culpeper, and Mr. John Ashburnham, concerning the London propositions.

[This is one of nine letters bearing the above superscription, which, with several others to and from the queen, are thus described in a note affixed to that of the earliest date (July 22d, 1646) —" All the Letters in this Collection to, and from " the King, while he was at Newcastle, are put

" together; many of them being pasted in a book
" by themselves with this title prefixed in his (the
" king's) own hand :—' *Certaine letters to and from*
" ' *France concerning the London Propositions, sent*
" ' *to me to Newcastle; but more particularly about*
" ' *the Covenant and Presbiteriall Government.*'"

The last letter is dated January 2, 1647, and addressed to the queen. In it he tells her that he is now declared to be,—what he has really been, since he first came to the Scotch army,—a prisoner: that it is now clear that their demands concerning religion are as destructive to his crown, as to his conscience: and that, if there be the least imagination that 364 (the prince of Wales) will grant more, *he* (the king) shall not live long after. He concludes: " This is not my " opinion alone: the French Ambassador and " Montreuil fully concur with me in it."—It was on the 30th of the same month that he was delivered up to the English commissioners.]

Newcastell, 3rd Oct. 1646.

This letter will need a preamble; for otherwais, what I shall wryte may be easily mistaken. Wherfor know and be asseured, that I am so well satisfied of the loyallty, fidelity and affection of you three to my crowne, cause, and person, as what I shall say heareafter is without any detriment to this my profession; in which if you were not firme, I should not think you worthy of this A. ensewing freedome; *I meane two of you;* for I cannot in justice condem 389 [*Ashburnham*] of an error, wherof I fynd him (by your owen confessions) innocent. For the chyding part does not concerne him, though I thinke not fitt to single him by my letter. Nor will you two (if you bee so good men as I take you to be) beare the less frendship to him, *because his conscience discents not from myne.*

B. I found Davenant's instructions to be such both for matter and circumstance, that my just greife for them had been unsupportable, but that the extraordinary and severall kynde expressions of my Wyfe (meeting casually at that time) abated the sharpness of my sorrow. For I fynde myself condemned by all my best frends of such a high distructife and unhard of kinde of willfulness, that I am thought to stand single in my opinion, and to be ignorant of both my maine foundations, to witt, conscience, and pollicy. But must I be caled single, because some are frighted out of, others dares not avow, their opinions? And who causes me to be condemned, but those who either takes courage and morall honesty for conscience, or those who were never rightly

C. grounded in Religion according to the Church of England? As for the two Queenes and Card. I should blame them, if they did not give out sentence against me; considering the false information of those, who belive themselfes to be, but are not, true Eng. Protestants, nor does understand the inseperable mischeefe which the Pres[byterian] doctrine brings along with it to that Kingdom whersoever they are setled. Wherfor instruct yourselfes better, recant, and undeceave those whom ye haue misinformed; for belive me there is neede, and such as I thinke not fitt particularly to express. Only one particular I must mention, wherwith Davenant hath threatned me; D. which is 351 [*the Queen*] retyring from all businesses into a monastery. This if it fall out, (which God forbid) is so destructife to all my affaires—I say no more of it; my hart is too bigg; the rest being fitter for your thoughts then my expression. In another way I have mentioned this to 351 (my greefe being the only thing I desyre to conceale from her, with which I am as full now as I can be without bursting), commanding you to remember her, to answer me, and helpe to conceall my sorrow from her as much as may bee; which will be some ease to it, that of itselfe is so great as were not to be borne but for the great cordiall of her dayly expressions of kyndness to me, and that this way I fynde some vent for it. I conclude with this true saying; that nether anger nor greefe shall make me forgett my frendship to you. So farewell.

This day I receaved from my Wyfe and you two dispaches; to which I cannot answer untill my next.

"A rough draught by himself, endorsed by "him" (the king); 'To L. Jer. L. Cul. and J. A. "'3 Oct. by London—to be kept.'"

A. *I cannot in justice condem* [*Ashburnham*] *of an error, wherof I fynd him (by your owen confessions) innocent.*] It is hoped that in the course of the preceding Vindication attempts have been made, neither irrelevantly, presumptuously nor unsuccessfully to entitle John Ashburnham at least to the credit of consistency in his principles, professions, and actions. It is now further hoped, with a view to ensure to him this advantage, that the notice of some additional evidences may be here indulgently and patiently tolerated.

The terms in which he is in this paragraph mentioned by the king accord well with the tone of his own (afterwards intercepted) letter, addressed to his royal master, some few months later, from the Hague. There, as the reader has seen, having begun with exhorting his sovereign "to look stedfastly upon religion and honor for "support," he ends thus:—" If your majesty "make laws to strengthen their usurped power, "*or part with the church lands*, there can be no "hope to restore you; and your posterity will be "for ever lost."

It may be said,—and, as a possible case, must be admitted,—that the consistency here proved, if indeed there be any, is no other than such as may be commonly found in "creatures of a court:"—that the seemingly honest freedom of this admonitory exhortation is really but an obsequious compliance with the king's well-known sentiments, and indirectly a parasitical admiration of royal obstinacy. Recourse must then be had to other evidence; which can hardly be rejected, and cannot surely be refuted.

In his last will, made shortly before his death, he directs the trustees during the minority of his grandson to purchase, as opportunity may occur, "lands in Sussex near Ashburnham place, which "were the lands of his father and his ancestors; "who were blessed with them for so long a con-"tinuance; taking particular care that *they have* "*not been the inheritance of the church*. And "charging his heirs and posterity that they never "*bring a curse upon the rest of the estate by hav-*

"*ing the inheritance of the church: which is* "*absolute sacrilege.*"

Few will be the readers not disposed to smile at such simplicity. And they are welcome,—nay even desired,—so to consider, and treat it. For in that simplicity, especially when testified on so solemn an occasion, and at so awful a moment, will be found the best proof of sincerity, in those professions, which the lord Berkeley has thus sneered at, as ostentatious, and hypocritical.— "His Majesty then ordered me to withdraw with "Mr. Ashburnham, Dr. Shelden, Dr. Hammond, "and Mr. Leg, to see how far his Majesty had "gone in a treaty with the Scots. But Mr. Ash-"burnham refined much upon several expressions "of the articles, that concerned the covenant, "and church of England, *of which he was a* "*great professor.*"* (Memoirs of Sir J. Berkeley.)

B. *I found Davenant's instructions to be such both for matter and circumstance, that my just greife for them had been unsupportable, but that the extraordinary and severall kynde expressions of my Wyfe (meeting casually at that time) abated the*

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* Salmonet, who (as it has been formerly observed) has almost literally translated Berkeley's Memoir, says:—" Mais " Ashburnham rafinoit sur tous les termes, dont on se servoit " pour exprimer les choses. Et *vouloit faire paroitre son zéle* " *pour la chose, qu'il appelloit l'Eglise Anglicane:* mais c'étoit " bien à contretemps."

sharpness of my sorrow.] "The queen sent sir "William Davenant . . . . with a letter of credit "to the king . . . . although her majesty had like-"wise other ways *declared her opinion to his ma-"jesty that he should part with the church for his "peace and security.*" (Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. v. p. 411.)

And who causes me to be condemned, but those who either takes courage and morall honesty for conscience, or those who were never rightly grounded in Religion according to the Church of England?] "Davenant, when he found the king "unsatisfied . . . . took upon himself the confi-"dence to offer some reasons to the king to "induce him to yield to what was proposed; and "among other things said—it was the advice and "opinion of all his friends:—his majesty asking "—what friends? and he answering—that it was "the opinion of the lord Jermyn; the king said, "that *the lord Jermyn did not understand any "thing of the church.*—The other said—the lord "Colepepper was of the same mind.—The king "said—*Colepepper had no religion.*" (Hist. vol. v. p. 412.) C.

Only one particular I must mention, wherwith Davenant hath threatened me; which is the Queen retyring from all businesses into a monastery. This if it fall out, (which God forbid), D.

&c.] It can now only be matter for curious speculation and ingenious conjecture whether the lord Jermyn was under equal alarm, lest the queen should retire from all businesses, and dedicate the remainder of her life to monastic seclusion, mortification and prayer. No symptoms of such apprehension transpired in his correspondence here given. Yet certain it is, that he was at this time little less interested than the king himself in her majesty's resolves; and far more in a way to ascertain the real propensities and designs of his royal mistress: because (according to lord Clarendon) he was now not only the " queen's chief " officer," but also " governed all her receipts."

(3.)

The Queen to His Majesty.

Mon cher Coeur, Paris, De. $\frac{1}{11}$. 1646.

J'AY recue vostre lettre daté du 14 No. avec vostre response aux Propositions de Lond. qui m'ont fort surprisée de voir que vous aves accordé la Milice pour 10 Ans entre les mains du Parl, & non pas selon *que vous nous avions escrit si souvent;* qui estoit, de leur permettre la nomination de personnes; ainsi le pouvoir eut demouré tousjours entre vos mains ou a cette heure ils l'ont

tout entier. Et par cela aussi vous leur aves confirmé le Parl. pour 10 Ans; qui est autant a dire, que nous (ne) verrons jamais une fin a nos malheurs. Car tant le Parl. durera, vous n'estes point Roy. *Et pour moy, Je ne remettray pas le pied en Ang.* Et avec le biais que vous aves accordé la Milice, vous vous este coupé la gorge. Car leur ayant donné ce pouvoir, *vous ne leur pouves plus rien refuser, pas meme ma vie s'ils vous demandent;* mais je ne me mettray pas entre leur mains. J'oserais dire que si vous eussies suivi nos Avis, que vos affaires seroient dans un autre estat, qu'ils ne sont. J'espere que vos offres (ne) les satisferont pas a Londres; & si nous sommes si heureus que cela soit, *Je vous conjure pour la derniere fois,* de ne plus accorder rien du tout. Si vous tenes bon, je vois une apparence de retour a nos affaires; mais absolument, il ne faut rien plus accorder que ce que vous aves fait, puisqu'il n'y a plus moyen de le rapeller. Et s'il est encore possible de rapeller la Milice hors des mains du Parl. & que ces propositions ne soient pas encore parties, ne les pas faire. Mais s'ils le sont, & soient refusés, de ne plus hazarder de leur donner de cette façon, quelque condition que vous puissies jamais avoir pour cela. *Je vous ay ecrit tant de fois la dessus, de ne plus rien accorder,* & insensiblement vous vous engages a le faire.

Croyes vous que lors que je vois que vous estes si resolu dans l'affaire d'Evesques, & si peu dans ce qui vous concerne et vostre Posterité, que je n'ay pas des grandes desespoirs, apres vous avoir si souvent adverti comme j'ay fait, & que cela ne produise rien ? *Voici pour la derniere fois que je vous dirai encore,* que si vous accordes d'avantage, vous estes perdu, & *je ne retournerai jamais en*
a. *Ang:, mais j'irai prier Dieu pour vous.* Vous demandes mon opinion pour l'affaire d'Irland: *Je vous en ay escrit desja plusieurs fois.* Il ne faut point abandonner Irland, si premierement vous ne voies une paix & advantageuse & asseurée, mais dire la reponse que nous vous avons mandé.

Je m'estonne que les Irlandois ne se donnent a quelque Roy estranger; vous les y forceres a la fin, se voiants offerts en sacrifice. *Je me remets a L. Jer. & L. Cul. a vous dire d'avantage,* & aussi a Mons^r: Bellievre, qui recevera des ordres de France tres advantageuses pour vous. Et si vous voules estre aussi resolu dans l'affaire de la Milice, que vous estes pour les Evesques, j'espere que tout ira bien encore. Pour le Covenant, je ne vous puis donner conseil de l'imposer sur personne. Je crois qu'il y a autant de mal de le faire prendre aux autres, qu'a soymesme; & je crois que vous ne le pouves prendre sans vous perdre. Soies donc constant la dedans, comme aussi de ne vous fier a

nul promesse que l'on vous puisse faire pour la seureté de vos Amis, que par un Acte d'Oblivion. Je finis, ayant prise medecine, priante Dieu de b.
vous assister. Adieu mon cher Coeur!

"A copy, by the king, probably from the original in cipher."

Je ne retournerai jamais en Angleterre, mais a.
j'irai prier Dieu pour vous.] The success of the original threat, conveyed by Davenant, was such as could not fail to produce a repetition of it.

Je finis, ayant prise medecine, priante Dieu de b.
vous assister. Adieu mon cher coeur!] If from the anodyne contents of this affectionate epistle the poor king was able to extract ought in the nature of "*a great cordial*," it can only have been from the *Adieu mon cher cœur;* so expressive of the haste, in which it was necessarily concluded.

This letter is said to have been deciphered by the king's own hand. Surely after having accomplished the task, his majesty's appearance must have been such as described by the most authentic of historians, when giving loose to the most inventive of fancies.—"After Ashburnham had "been some time absent, he returned without "any news of *the* ship; at which his majesty "seemed troubled."

It is to these same "*Certaine Letters to and* "*from France concerning the London Propositions* "*sent to me to Newcastle: but more particularly* "*about the Covenant and Presbyteriall Govern-* "*ment*," (of which this of the queen's is one,) that allusion is made in lord Clarendon's History, where the king is represented to have declared that "*those violent pressures*, which were made "upon him from thence, gave him more disquiet, "than he suffered from all the insolence of his "enemies;" and to have believed that these "might have been prevented or diverted," if the chancellor and others of the prince's council had waited upon him into France. Which belief is further confirmed in the letter written by Dr. Shelden, in obedience to the king's command, that "his majesty did believe that, if the chan- "cellor had been there, he would have been able "to have prevented the vexation his majesty had "endured at Newcastle by *messages* from Paris." (Life, vol. i. p. 244.)

Hist. vol. v. p. 406.

The king's belief that such would have been the desirable result of sir Edward Hyde's attendance on the prince into France might alone sufficiently imply his majesty's expectation, that the prince would have been so attended. But it has been repeatedly shewn that the chancellor never intended to fulfil that expectation.—"Within a

" day or two after the prince's departure from " Jersey, the earl of Berkshire left it, and went " for England. The lords Capel and Hopton and " the chancellor of the exchequer remained together in Jersey to expect his majesty's pleasure, " and to attend a conjuncture to appear again *in* " *his majesty's service*." Which conjuncture every one of these soon found (as also did the duke of Ormond and others) excepting only the last named, (the chancellor) who is well known to have been the first in the king's estimation. (Hist. vol. v. p. 406.)

Among the State Papers, where the authorities for the truth of lord Clarendon's History are to be found, (and for other truths besides,) there is a letter from the chancellor to the king, dated Jersey, July 27, 1647, beginning thus:

" May it please your Majesty:

" When his highness left this island, my lord " Capel, my lord Hopton and myself presented " our duty and an account of ourselves to your " majesty; and besought your commands how to " dispose ourselves to your service. Whether that " humble address of our's had ever the happiness " to be presented to your majesty I know not."—

For fear therefore that it should not (or rather, as it may seem, for fear that it *should*) have been so presented, he proceeds in explanation thus.—"*I am so far from begging your leave to wait on*" *your majesty*, (though it be the greatest happi-" ness I am capable of in this world,) that I be-" seech your majesty not to vouchsafe the least" thought or consideration of me, when it may" collaterally give any interruption to what may" else seem useful to your service. But when my" attendance may be consistent with the state of" your majesty's affairs, or my service of any sig-" nification to your majesty, no man shall with" greater devotion obey your commands. In the" mean time I flatter myself with an opinion, that" I am doing your majesty some service here," while I am preparing the story of your suffer-" ings; that posterity may know by whose default" the nation was even overwhelmed with calami-" ties, and by whose virtue it was redeemed."

There is another letter to the same purport, and with only a very slight variation even in the words, *endorsed thus by lord Clarendon*—"My letter" of the 21st of Nov. 1646 to his majesty;—" never delivered."

On the 15th of the same month the chancellor writes to secretary Nicholas in terms, which sufficiently convey how *very far he was from begging* *the king's leave to wait upon him (although the greatest pleasure he was capable of).* Whether the following extracts be not fairly, though briefly, given, may be ascertained by referring to vol. ii. page 286, State Papers.

"You tell me you have the king's approbation for living in that city (Caen), till you shall receive his further pleasure; otherwise you had been like to have visited Jersey. I pray tell me, whether that approbation implied *any disapprobation of this island, or of any persons in it:* and if you have any correspondence with Newcastle,* *find some means to keep up that reputation of your friends,* their faith and fidelity deserve." . . . . "For our invitation to stay here, we had the extraordinary kindness and friendship of the governor (the most generous man in kindness) and his wife, a lady worthy such a husband; who will not suffer us to want any thing we desire. This with the satisfaction of being in a loyal part of the kingdom, easily persuaded us to stay here, *where we have with wonderful contentment now enjoyed ourselves full six months, since the prince's remove: and here we resolve to stay, till the three kingdoms have recovered their understandings and honesty.*"

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* Where the king then was with the Scotch army.

. . . . " Three hours a day I assign to this writing " task (his History); the rest to other study and " books; so I doubt not, *after seven years time* " *in this retirement, you will find me a pretty* " *fellow.* In earnest I study hard, and (I thank " God) was *never better in body or mind in my* " *life;* and I flatter myself with an opinion that " even this retirement is not absolutely unprofit-" able to the publick."

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* *Any* disapprobation *of this island, or of* any persons in it.] The conscious misgiving and apprehension here betrayed were soon superseded by certainty. Of this truth the evidence is afforded in a letter from the chancellor to the king, dated the 4th of April 1647; and said to have been " written at a time, when *he thought* his life " in great danger from an attempt, which, *it was* " *expected,* the parliament would make upon " Jersey."

" May it please your Majesty,

" Since this is not like to come to your hands, " *till I am dead,* I may be pardoned to be a suitor " to your majesty on my own behalf; that I may " not be so unfortunate as to suffer in your ma-" jesty's opinion, after my death, for any omission

" of duty towards you. I hope my whole carriage " in your service has been so blameless and un" questionable, that nothing can stick with you " in suspence, *till my staying behind the prince at* " *Jersey* : and for that, *never having had the hap*" *piness in my life to satisfy your majesty, I have* " *thought it necessary to do it after my death:* having no greater comfort in my death (saving my hope and assurance in my Redeemer) than " that I have served your majesty, according to " my weak capacity, most faithfully, honestly, " and as I ought to do."

As the authorities for *the truth* of lord Clarendon's History are said to be contained in his State Papers, so it is hoped that the same will be found to furnish equal authorities for *the justice* of some remarks on the noble Historian, and his relation, which have been submitted in the first part of this Vindication, where they may have appeared unwarrantably grounded on conjectural assumptions, illogical inferences, or gratuitous conclusions.

(4.)

" Sir Edward Hyde to Sir John Berkeley."

[For the sake of human nature too lamentably frequent are the recorded instances of dearest friendships in early life being perverted at a later period into virulent and implacable enmities. It has been shewn that the occasion, which produced the sudden dissolution and final extinction of all friendly relation between Clarendon and Berkeley, was most honourable to the former. But that, which is not equally so, is the discovery, that all the despicable and odious qualities, for which sir John's character is made notorious in the History of the Rebellion, must have been already known to it's noble author at the time, when in his letters, to his *own John,* and *sweet Jack,* he was hyperbolically expressing sentiments of fond attachment to his person and of affectionate zeal for his interest, blended with admiring deference to his superior endowments, and transcendent merits.

Vindication, part ii. p. 233.

For so weighty a charge the adequate support may be found in a few out of many similar passages in sir Edward Hyde's correspondence, placed in immediate contrast with an equal number of extracts from lord Clarendon's History, and from a most elaborate character of Berkeley given in the third volume of his lordship's State Papers.]

CORRESPONDENCE.

1.

Enquire among those, with whom I have most inwardly conversed, what mention I have always made of you. You have committed as many wilful blasphemies and perjuries to heaven, as I have faults to you. If the mentioning you always *as the person, I loved best;* if the avowing a *friendship* with you, and for you, *so passionately that it hath made it doubted whether I had any for any body else,* hath proved to your disadvantage, I must ask your pardon: —I need it for nothing else.

Dear Jack,
your very affectionate Serv^t.
&c.

Jersey, 22d July, 1646.

2.

My dear Jack,

Methinks I find myself strangely refreshed, and my spirits relieved by being unbent in this little retirement. How much good then would you reap by it; *who have a mind so much better prepared by education and experience; untainted and unrestrained by narrow and vulgar speculations! And how much advantage should I receive from those large animadversions your friendship would derive to me!* *

Jersey, 26th Dec. 1646.

HISTORY.

1.

Berkeley was in a very private station *before the war*, and not much spoken of till *the end of it;* when he was not beholden to reports. Ambition and vanity *were well known* to be predominant in him; and that he had a great confidence in himself, and did not delight to converse with those, who had not. Vol. v. p. 492.

CHARACTER.

1.

He had no friends, who heartily esteemed him, and was the only person alive, who compassed all, that he set his heart upon, purely by his own ambition, *without any merit* or ever having done any notable thing, but by a perpetual restlessness, and unquietness in himself, and *being uneasy to every body else.*

HISTORY.

2.

They (the superior officers, Cromwell and Ireton) were well acquainted with his talent, and knew his foible; that *by flattering and commending they might govern him:* and that there was no danger of any deep design from his contrivance.

Vol. v. p. 448.

CHARACTER.

2.

He loved so much to be flattered, that he was at the mercy of any man, who would attach him that way; and he paid liberally in the same kind,

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* In Zadig's Cantata—a few repetitions of which every night and morning

CORRESPONDENCE.

3.

My dear Jack,

I have your's of the 9th, and by your favour must either give over writing, or have leave to grumble when I am not kindly dealt with.

And now, — sweet John, — what was that freedom, which I used not to you? ..... If *my friendship to John Berkeley* hath been hid under a bushel; though it hath never shined usefully; *if it hath not had all the justice and all the constancy requisite to a virtue, by which a man would be saved; and all the passion and all the impatience, a man would be valued by; I declare myself unfit and uncapable of any further honest correspondence in this world.*

Jersey, this 8th Jan. 1647.

CHARACTER.

and was a great flatterer himself, but of no body so much as of himself. He never loved his equals, and always hated his superiors, and was still governed by his inferiors. *He had a very indifferent understanding, and a very obscure and troubled expression in debate;* but inveighed against any thing, that was concluded; and always believed himself the wisest man of the time.

HISTORY.

3.

He, that loved him best, was very willing to be without him; and so receiving the queen's letter of recommendation of him to the king, who knew him very little, and that little not without great prejudice, he left Paris. Vol. v. p. 447.

CHARACTER.

3.

This gentleman had been very happy, if he had been either qualified to do business, or composed to be quiet without meddling in any: but he was of so unhappy a constitution, as that *he had a very perplexed understanding, and a more perplexed delivery of expression:* and yet he believed he was fit for the greatest transactions.

soon wrought a perfect cure in a most inveterate case of similar malady,— the following *refrain*, or chorus, was sung at the end of each stanza,

Que son mérite est extréme !
Que de grace ! que de grandeur !
Ah ! combien monseigneur
Doit être content de lui-même !

Now what was Zadig's cantata in comparison with the chancellor's letters? Truly in sir John's vanity the digestion of an ostridge must have been added to the voracity of a cormorant, if no nausea was felt after having been thus crammed with so surfeiting a mess of undiluted flattery.

CORRESPONDENCE.

4.

Oh John,

Keep but your natural temper in weighing the whole, and I will not wish a better judge in the whole matter. Nothing but my unalterable kindness to you would make me stuff a letter with this discourse to you: and therefore I will not doubt your pardon, nor the continuation of your friendship to,

Dear Jack,
your most affectionate
humble Servant.

Madrid, 18th March,
1650.

HISTORY.

4.

He thought his great parts, and the services he had done, which were known to very few, might well enough distinguish him from other men. Vol. vi. p. 562.

CHARACTER.

4.

He was a man of a temper and constitution which made him incapable of being happy; for though he loved himself above all the world, and believed himself to be the wisest man and the best soldier of the nation, and had places and preferments proportionable to very great merit, (when in truth he had been liberally rewarded for all the services he had ever done, or could ever do, when he was knighted,) yet with that favourable opinion of himself, he had so great an undervaluing of all other men, that he was more grieved and afflicted at any good fortune, or preferment, which other men attained to, than delighted with any promotion that befell himself; though considering his great infirmities, his weakness, and his vanity, *which were not concealed,* he had a greater proportion of good fortune than any man of that time.

(5.)

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir John Berkeley.

[It may be convenient here to remind the reader of a few passages in lord Clarendon's History which prove how invariably, but especially at this time, sir John Berkeley was honoured with the queen's favor and patronage.

"The queen believed all he said." (Vol. v. p. 447.)

"Appointed by the queen governor to the duke "of York." (Vol. vi. p. 20.)

"Sir J. Berkeley had most of the queen's "favor." (Vol. vi. p. 559.)

"The queen very earnestly pressed the king "that sir J. Berkeley should likewise be made a "counsellor," (that is, of the privy council.) Vol. vi. p. 562.]

My John,

* * * * * *

All the little arts of these excellent observers of my carriage, tend only to have it believed, that I am not faithful enough in point of duty, or circumspect enough in point of respect to the queen, and her commands; and it is not impossible, the information may come from those, who are therefore angry, because they find I am not to be corrupted in either.

Trust me, John, I am too proud of being an honest man to be much afflicted with those attempts; and though they may at some time raise a cloud of prejudice against me, it will be dissolved again to my advantage. *My duty to the queen is a part of my religion; and I shall as soon take the Covenant, as commit any fault willingly against her.* Out of the conscience of what I ought to do, I served her majesty industriously and passionately, before I had the honour to be known to her; she hath been since a very gracious mistress to me, and heaped many obligations upon me; and if ingratitude be a vice in my nature, I may say it hath not yet been discovered by any action of my life. I must tell you I have another obligation, which, if all others could, can never be dissolved; and I hope it will have an influence upon the hearts of all honest Englishmen; that is, the reverence I pay to the precious memory of my dear master. And I verily believe the immortal monument he hath left of his transcendent affection to, and value of her majesty, hath made that impression in all men, that whoever pretends to honour him, can never fail in duty to her; and I am persuaded the queen will live to reap a very plentiful harvest from that seed. I hope shortly to wait on her majesty; and if she then think me worthy of any trust, I shall serve her faithfully, and never fail in the least degree in any thing I promise to do. And if I shall be thought in the present conjuncture (through the envy that is upon me, or malice against me, or weakness in me, for the two first, as well as the last, are reasons enough to decline any man's service) not fit for any employment, I shall with the same submission and chearfulness lay down the little title I have, and wait till his majesty's affairs may admit of instruments of such vulgar and narrow faculties as mine.

12 April, 1649.

A copy, by Mr. Edgman, endorsed by himself (Sir Ed: Hyde.)

This letter must have received an answer not less early than unfavourable; as it seems from the date of it, when compared with that of the Extraordinary Embassador's departure from the Hist. vol. vi. p. 325. Hague; ("before the middle of May:") the interval not exceeding one month. In as much as one, among other reasons assigned for the chancellor's being "exceedingly pleased" with the lord Cottington's first proposal, that they two should be sent on their memorable diplomatic mission, was that "*he knew that he was not in* "*the queen's favour at all, and should find no* "*respect at that court.*" This passage is less likely to have escaped the reader's memory on account of Bishop Warburton's comment on it. "This was the greatest as well as the best de-"served compliment, he could pay to himself."

If the right reverend Commentator could have seen this and the following letters of the chancellor, preserved among his State Papers, the probability is that the above declaration would either have been suffered to pass without any note at all, or else have been distinguished by one less panegyrical. For surely as great and as deserved a compliment had been paid to himself by the fox, on saying he knew that he should find no sweetness in the grapes, which he had experimentally ascertained to be beyond his reach.

Yet, howsoever the change had been wrought, we read that on his return from Spain the ex-extraordinary Embassador "waited upon the queen "mother; who received him very graciously:" "and soon after, that "the chancellor was "yet looked upon with no ungracious eye by "her majesty; *only* the lord Jermyn knew well "he would never resign himself to be disposed "of; which was the temper that could only en-"dear any man to *him*." Is it not then the fair

Life, vol. i. p. 298.

and natural conclusion, deducible from these premises, that it was not, because the chancellor "was not in the *queen's* favour at all," that "he "knew he should find no respect *in that court*," but "*only*" because he was not of the temper which alone could endear him to sir John Berkeley's "friend *in that court, that governed*"—the lord Jermyn:—who "was the queen's chief officer, "and governed all her receipts: who loved plenty "so well, that he would not be without it, what-"ever others suffered." So that "all who had "any relation to the prince, were to implore his "aid; and the prince himself could obtain no-"thing but by him." When therefore the chan-Life, vol. i. p. 298. cellor proceeds to relate—that besides "former "experience" (of the queen's being his most gracious mistress) "an attempt had been lately made "upon him by sir John Berkeley, who told him "that the queen had a good opinion of him, and "knew well in how ill a condition he must be, in "respect of his subsistence: and that she would "assign him such a competent maintenance that "he should be able to draw his family to him out "of Flanders to Paris, and to live comfortably*

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* This was indeed a powerful temptation. For let it be remembered, that during his voluntarily protracted "acqui-"escences, for so he called these vacations and retreats from "trouble and vexation," both in Jersey and in Spain, each of

" together; if she might be confident of his service, and that he would always concur with her " in his advice to the king,"—it is as little to be wondered at that the chancellor should have declined the queen's conditional benevolence, as that her majesty in making this *attempt* should have employed sir John Berkeley, who doubtless had not concealed from his royal patroness his friend the chancellor's very ostensible letter.

Sir Edward Hyde to the Queen, acquainting her with the posture of affairs in the West.

May it please your Majesty,

If Mr. Grant hath had *the blessing to kiss your majesty's hand*, you have by him received a very full account of the state and condition of these parts; * * * * *

* * * * * *

I hope your majesty is very much assured that your servants here will not fail in any part of their duty, to which besides all other publick tyes, they are obliged by *their particular singular*

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which lasted more than two years, the chancellor of the exchequer, however stationary, had been in other respects like

The wandering tar, who not for *years* has press'd
The widow'd partner of his *day* of rest.

devotion to your sacred majesty. But as the hurry of ill and prodigious accidents may sometimes make an impression upon your *own royal, composed, and prepared temper,** so I hope you will vouchsafe your compassion to us, who live in the region where the thunder and lightning is made, if we are compelled to do, and not to do many things, which to sharper understandings, not inclined to the temper of examining all circumstances, may be liable to censure and reproach; and I am confident your majesty will not be at all disappointed in the expectation you have vouchsafed to entertain of our duty and service: which I believe will not be wanting in any of us, I am sure shall not in,

Madam,
your majesty's most obliged,
and most obedient servant,
EDWARD HYDE.

Pendennis Castle, 17th Feb. 1645.

An Original.

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* This recalls to mind the observation of Lingo in the farce that,—" her *Serene* Highness seems to be in a *passion*." That accidental impressions were not unfrequently made on this *royal temper,* however *composed* and *prepared,* one passage out of many, which might be quoted from Lord Clarendon's Life, may suffice to prove. When the queen heard of the duke of York's intended marriage, her majesty " expressed her indignation with her *natural* passion."

Sir Edward Hyde to the Queen.

May it please your Majesty,

I have not suffered so great an affliction from all the calamities of these ill times, as from the fear and apprehension I have had of your majesty's displeasure; for I am sure I have never contributed to the former, and so whatsoever share I bear in the misfortune I have none in the fault. But I am too full of duty and *acknowledgement of your majesty's great obligations upon me,* to imagine I can fall into a hazard of the latter, without some guilt of my own; and therefore in any censure your majesty shall at any time inflict upon me, I shall never otherwise appeal than *from your justice, to your own mercy;* being very confident that I shall always have some *simplicity* about me, not unworthy of that, how unfit soever I am to appear before the other.

I should not have received the courage to make this humble address to your majesty if I had not received assurance from some very good friends, who have for my sake taken the boldness to mention me to your majesty, that you still vouchsafe to retain a gracious acceptance of my poor service; which gives me the boldness to beg your majesty to believe that it is not possible for me to displease your majesty but through want of discretion. For truly, to give your majesty the least offence willingly and wilfully; I shall always * think too great a price, to save the impertinent life of,

Madam,

your majesty's most obliged

and most obedient Servant.

Jersey, this 16th of April,
1648.

A copy, endorsed by himself.

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* Why lord Clarendon here calls his *life impertinent* is not very obvious: although it must be admitted that there is much *in* his Life, (as synonymous with the story of his life,) and in his History of the Rebellion too, which is anything but pertinent. Her majesty, if consulted, might probably have transferred this epithet from his life to his tongue. But even then it would have been, as in fact it afterwards was, most undeservedly applied. For how, in spite of such letters as these, could the queen say,—and "*with some quickness,*—that "the chancellor was *so far from giving her fair* "*words,* and *flattering her,* that she did verily

"believe that, if he thought her to be a whore, he "would tell her of it?—which when he was told, "he was not displeased with the testimony."*

(6.)

Secret Instructions for our right trusty and well-beloved counsellor, Francis lord Cottington, Lord High Treasurer of England; and our trusty and right well-beloved counsellor, sir Edward Hyde, knight, Chancellor of our Exchequer, our Ambassadors Extraordinary to his Catholick Majesty.

Charles R.

[N. B. The secret instructions consist of five articles; of which the two last are here only given. The preceding ones requiring no comment. They may be found in the second volume of State Papers, page 481.]

* * * * * *

4. You shall perform all such compliments and civilities, as you shall judge conducing to our service, with the Pope's Nuntio, or any other

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* When a man's attempt has failed of success, he will in most cases be not displeased to find that he is not suspected of having made it.

minister of his, and *hold such correspondence, and make such addresses to Rome, as may incline the Pope to give us his assistance in this our distress.*

5. *You shall communicate these particular instructions with none, or address your letters upon either of these particulars to any but ourself;* who will as carefully with our own hand return you our directions and pleasure therein, upon all occasions. Given at the Hague the 24th day of May in the first year of our reign.

C. R.

An Original, signed by the King.

" His majesty was much pleased with the " whole scheme," (so warily presented to him by lord Cottington) " and shortly after declared his " resolution publickly to send the lord Treasurer " and the chancellor of the Exchequer his ambas- " sadors extraordinary into Spain: and com- " manded *them* to prepare *their own* commission " and instructions." (Hist. vol. vi. p. 313.)

This alone, it must be admitted, was a sufficient reason, if there had been no others, why " the " chancellor of the Exchequer was *exceedingly* " *pleased with the commission.*"

Were it not for the above unquestionable authority a suspicion might exist that the *fourth article* had been drawn up by the lord Cottington with the assistance of the queen and lord Jermyn, rather than conjointly with sir Edward Hyde alone.

The fifth article confirms lord Clarendon's account that this appointment "had never been "mentioned or debated in council:" which, (as he himself very justly and candidly observes,) "made all kinds of people murmur and complain" so much "the more."

(7.)

Sir Edward Hyde to Mr. Secretary Nicholas, in vindication of his conduct towards him, with respect to his accepting the embassy into Spain.

Dear Mr. Secretary,

* * * * * * *

I hope you are satisfied as to the first part of your third letter, wherein you still charge me with real unkindness to you, and deceiving your entire confidence in my care of you. They are very heavy charges, Mr. Secretary, and such as if I am guilty of, I must hereafter renounce the friendship of any honest man; that is, make myself very unworthy of it. And if you shall make the world believe I am guilty of it, as, if you do believe it yourself, you have great reason to complain of it, how innocent soever, I know I must a. suffer very much in my reputation. *For I value myself upon the reputation I have of friendship with secretary Nicholas;* and if I have by so dishonest a carriage made myself unworthy of it, other men have reason to avoid any further commerce with me. Therefore, I must conjure you in justice, and for my reformation (for, seriously, if I could upon the strictest revolving of my words or actions or thoughts discover any fault against you, I would heartily ask your pardon) let me know wherein you are deceived by me; *what I said to you of the king's resolutions and purposes, which his majesty did not say to you himself,* or what I said of others, which you have not found true. Did I ever promise you a pleasant and comfortable life in that distracted and disjointed company, and in that perplexity of affairs? Did I not always tell you (and I am sure told the king so more than once), that if I were to advise you with the spirit of a private friend, I must wish you to sit still, and enjoy your own ease and quiet, the same way you had done for the two or three last years, retired from any publick charge or engagement; and that, by entering into the publick managery (as the affections of persons and the state of affairs then stood), you must expect many uneasinesses and vexations, and such as a generous and honest heart would find difficulty enough to wrestle with. But then, as I could not but for the king's sake and the publick, wish and advise his majesty should have you near him, and in his greatest trusts, so, if his majesty did require your service in that kind, I knew not how you could upon your own principles refuse to wait on him. It may be, I did persuade your stay at St. Germain's, and dissuade your sudden going from thence, when you had once or twice such a thought; which I confess I did out of the apprehension that your remove might beget prejudice to the king, out of the interpretation people could make of it: and I beseech you, give me leave to believe yet, that the trouble of mind which you have suffered by anything you have done (though I doubt not you have had vexation enough) is very much inferior to what you would have suffered, if you had not done it; so great a difference there is in the peace of heart when a man hath done all and his part, and when he hath fallen short of it. *But* b. *my fault was not in setting you such a task* (to which all your own judgement and reason consented, *nor did I ever conceal a thought of mine* c. *from you in any thing that concerned that matter),* " *but in not keeping you company; in declining a* " *trouble myself to which I would expose you.*"

Alas! you know my employment was designed and agreed on and published long before our meeting at St. Germain's, and at a time when there was no thought of our meeting there, nor so much thought as I wisht of drawing you or any other, with whose company I would have been delighted, into the communication and partner-
d. ship in counsels. "*But this was a design and* "*contrivance of my own.*" Truly, if it were so, I should never deny it, or be ashamed of it; for a servant to desire to change the present condition of his service, and to serve his master in another place (though a man's own conveniency and ease were ingredients into that desire) hath been in no time thought a crime, or not a very justifiable
e. design. *But I told you that whole story truly; and no man better knows how far I was from that contrivance than the king himself does; and I must look upon my service here as as absolute an act of obedience to his majesty's commands, as ever I performed to him, or to his father;* and a way into which my own fancy and invention would
f. never have led me. "Well; I was at least too "well pleased with it, and might with duty "enough have declined it; to which I was obliged "out of the conscience of being of some use to "him in his counsels about his person, and of "notorious insufficiency for this other employ-

" ment; so that my being engaged in that would " look rather like a retiring from the whole service, than betaking myself to a new part in it." *I do not deny, that when the king had commanded* g. *me,* the more I thought of it, with reference to my own quiet and content, the more I liked it, and *grew less sorry that the king was pleased to think fit that I should be for some time at a distance from his person and counsels;* but I do assure you, if I had thought myself of any importance to his service by my attendance, and of no use or signification at this distance, I would at least have presented those considerations to his majesty, and my humble advice and desire that I might have continued as I was. But in truth, I will not so far accuse the king's judgement (since he hath vouchsafed to think me capable of this trust) as to believe myself utterly incompetent for it, and indeed I hope I may be able to do him some service here, and I am not so indocible but I may learn what is necessary thereunto; so I was fully satisfied in my judgement, that I might very well be spared there, and that, being for some time absent, I might return more capable of serving his majesty. If you remember the time when I was appointed for this journey, it was when the king's council lay under as great a weight of irreverence and contempt as can be

imagined; which was brought upon it by such a concurrence of friends and enemies, that there appeared no so probable way of restoring the counsels to some reputation as by a temporary change of the counsellors; which never could have been compassed to that degree as most men desired, *if I had not consented and submitted to the king's desire of sending me into Spain:* from
h. whence, *if our journey had been as soon undertaken as it was resolved,* I might very well have returned to his majesty before there could have been any use of my service, and *we had then done more in this court in a month's time than we can now in six; so great alterations are since in the affairs of this court as well as in those of our master.* You do not know, Mr. Secretary, the difficulties I had to contend with, and such as were more incumbent to me than to any other person, and such as well might make an honest man willing to shift the scene of his action. You will say, "I have withdrawn myself from those "troubles, which I desired to expose you to." I wish with all my heart you could meet with no discouragements. I am sure you will be free from many which I encountered every day. I know you are liable to some of the same prejudices and jealousies with me, and that there are a sort of people equally incensed against us both;

but their opinions made very little impression in me. I will deal clearly with you; nothing ever stuck close with me but what came from the king's own party in England; and when I found myself struck at by some letters from thence (and from those truly whom the king hath great reason to value above me), as an enemy to moderate counsels, and a breaker of treaties, (which imputation some of your friends fastened upon me since the treaty of Uxbridge, where God knows I did or said nothing but what I would have said and done, if I had been to expire the next minute), I began to think myself of less use to the king's service than I had done before; for I have been always of opinion, that the king's restoration depends exceedingly upon the reputation of his ministers; and let a man be never so honest and wise, if he hath the misfortune to lie under a great weight of envy and prejudice, he will bring little advantage to his master. Not that I think such persons ought to be cast off, but they shall do well in discretion to yield a little to the torrent; and if they preserve their integrity, God Almighty will at last reward it with such a proportion of credit and reputation as is necessary. In this point you have the advantage of me, and (though you must give me leave to believe myself as honest as you are) are very much better thought of than I am; there being very few of the king's party, who do not desire you should be with the king, and in his nearest trusts, and very many who would have me away; yet I do not make question but, by the grace of God, I shall outlive all that prejudice, and that I shall in the end be found to have as few private ends, and to have dedicated myself as entirely to the publick, as any poor gentleman who suffers in this good cause. And I do believe I shall be able to serve the king the more effectually by this absence, and hope that his majesty looks upon me still as doing his business, and executing his commands. And this shall serve for an answer to the first four lines of your third letter—now to the rest.

* * * * * *

18. March.

A copy, by Mr. Edgman, endorsed by himself.

[The remainder of this letter may be found in the third volume at page 13, from which the following passage has been extracted.]

i. *But alas! I am on very ill terms with my friends, if they censure me as changed into a better courtier, for writing so often to the queen and lord Jermyn.* In earnest I thought myself above these jealousies, as I am sure such little artifices are

below me. Do not you know how much of our
negociations depends upon the hope of the peace
between the two crowns, and to whom can we
write upon that business, but to them? *yet upon* j.
my word we have not above once writ thither, without writing to you! Sure those persons are not
unknown to me, and I believe they are in their
hearts better inclined to you (who are not very
gracious) than to me, who they know never will
serve their turns. And be confident I can as soon
and as easily turn witch and give myself to the
Devil, as descend to any little vile arts and tricks,
to get the favour of this or that body; and I
reckon it the honester way to hell of the two;
nor can I grow remiss or lazy in the king's service. God knows my heart entertains no other
thoughts day and night, but how I may best serve
him.

I value myself upon the reputation I have of a.
friendship with secretary Nicholas.] Warburton
in his note on Clarendon's character of Nicholas,
where it is said "he was a very honest and in-
"dustrious man," extolls the noble Historian's
scrupulous and rigid impartiality in that "he
"would not say anything of his parts, because in
"truth he could not." And yet, (he continues to
observe) "secretary Nicholas was his bosom

"friend, and never forfeited his good opinion." This may be so. But that he did not at all times possess his good will appeared in the chancellor's censure on Ashburnham for having managed to secure little less than twenty, instead of ten, thousand pounds, as intended, to remunerate the good old secretary's faithful services of more than forty years, ruinous to himself and family, and, notwithstanding the want of brilliant talent, not unuseful at least to his successive royal masters.

b. *But my fault was not in setting you such a task, but in not keeping you company;* in declining a trouble myself, to which I would expose you.] "The chancellor was weary of the company he "was in, and the business; which having no re-"spect but towards despair, was rendered yet "more grievous by the continual contentions and "animosities between persons." See Vindication, vol. i. p. 32.

c. *Nor did I ever conceal a thought of mine from you in any thing that concerns that matter.*] "The "chancellor was very scrupulous that the king "might not suspect that he was weary of his at-"tendance, or that *any body else might believe "that he withdrew himself from waiting longer "upon so desperate a fortune.*" See vol. i. p. 32.

d. *But this was a design and contrivance of my own. Truly, if it were so, I should never deny it,* *or be ashamed of it.*] Lord Cottington alone originated the *design:* but the chancellor has proved himself entitled to an equal share in the merit of the *contrivance.* See Vindication, vol. i. p. 36.

But I told you that whole story; and no man e.
better knows than the king himself does, *how far I was from that contrivance.*] To whose testimony could sir Edward Hyde so confidently and safely appeal, as to the king's; who seems to have been almost the only dupe of his imposture? It has been heretofore shewn that the queen, on his taking leave of her, told him that this mission "*would be fruitless as to any advantage, the* king "*would receive from it.*" And it is clear enough from the passages in his letter here quoted, that the good old secretary, besides being "a very in-"dustrious and honest man," had on this occasion sagacity and penetration enough to suspect that the king's advantage was not the only object contemplated by these self-commissioned diplomatists and auto-plenipotentiaries.

Lord Clarendon's relation of the manner, in which he deceived his king; deserted his pupil; abandoned his post; renounced his colleagues; grieved his friends; and in one common disgust and indignation united "all, who agreed in no-"thing else," has been presented to the reader in the first volume of this work, and may be found at page 36.

f. “*Well; I was at least too well pleased with it, and might with duty enough have declined it; to which I was obliged out of the conscience of being of some use to him in his counsels about his person, and of notorious insufficiency for this other employment,*” &c.] The good old secretary is not warranted in charging the chancellor with being *too well* pleased: all, that the latter has said, is that he was *exceedingly pleased.* For the rest this honest and industrious man is correct enough in his remarks, which speak the sentiments of all the chancellor's friends.

“They, who loved him, were sorry for him and “themselves. They thought he deserted a path “he had long trod, and was well acquainted with; “and was henceforth to move, *extra sphæram* “*activitatis,* in an office he had not been ac-“quainted with.” See vol. i. p. 37.

g. *I do not deny, that when the king had commanded me, the more I thought of it, with reference to my own quiet and content, the more I liked it, and* grew less sorry *that the king was pleased to think fit that I should be for some time at a distance from his person and counsels.*] “Grew *less* “sorry!” Who yet ever heard of his being sorry at all? But that after the king's command he liked the more that, which he had liked before so much, a fresh proof has been given in the last edition of the History of the Rebellion; where it is shewn how much, in all the former, the manuscript has been abridged. As written by lord Clarendon it appears that this passage stood thus, after " the lord Cottington's heart was much set " upon this employment,—and he knew well that " if it took air before the king was well prepared " and resolved, it would be much opposed as to " the chancellor's part; because many, who did " not love him, yet thought his presence about the " king to be of some use; therefore would do all " they could to divert his going: and therefore " *he managed it so warily* with the king, and " presented the *whole scheme to him so dexterously*, " that his majesty was much pleased with it, and " approved it; and spake of it to the chancellor, " as a business he liked, and promised himself " much good from it; and therefore *persuaded* " *him* to undertake it cheerfully. Whereupon the " chancellor desired him to think well of it, for " he was confident that many would dissuade his " majesty from employing him that way; *there-* " *fore he only besought him, that when he was so* " *far resolved upon it as to publish it, he would* " *not be afterwards prevailed with to change his* " *purpose;* which the king said he would not do;

"and shortly after declared his resolution pub-"lickly," &c. See Hist. vol. vi. p. 313.

h. *If our journey had been as soon undertaken as it was resolved,* * * * * *we had then done more in this court in a month's time than we can now in six.*] It was not of importance when the journey had been undertaken, but when it should be accomplished. If the reader will take the trouble of turning to the first volume, he will find at page 41 passages enough transcribed to shew that, after the journey had been undertaken, the progress was retarded for *weeks,* because no "house had been provided" for the ambassadors at Madrid: and that even after their arrival there all business was suspended, until they "had a "house provided for them." And when at last "a good house had been put into their hands, "they were *compelled* to defer their remove *for* "*at least a week,* to devise a place where to make "a kitchen; there being no chimney big enough "to roast a joint of meat, but only hearths, upon "which several pipkins might be set together." Now although a pipkin might serve for the cooking of an olla podrida; and that national dainty suffice for the entertainment of the old semi-hidalgo Cottington, his right honourable colleague was a man of another kidney. Accordingly we find that he did as much, in proportion, towards improving the marquis of Villa Magna's house, as Augustus did for Rome. For (when he was at length fairly, that is forcibly, driven out of Madrid,) there, where he had found hearths and pipkins, he left " a chimney and ovens ; which " accommodated them well." To afford such accommodations these latter fixtures seem to have been essentially requisite. Among his Epistolæ ad familiares, otherwise State Papers, there is one from Jersey addressed to the lord Cottington, in which he reminds him how, while the king was at Oxford, it used to be remarked by his lordship that the chancellor was never absent from the hall of Oriel College on those days, when there was " a *pasty* of venison" for dinner. (State Papers, vol. ii. p. 290.)

Alas! I am on very ill terms with my friends, i.
if they censure me as changed into a better courtier, for writing so often to the queen and lord Jermyn.] If his friends had seen the letters written to the queen and lord Jermyn long previous to the chancellor's embassy, they would have known that he could hardly have been changed into a *better* courtier.

To have written at all to the queen and lord Jermyn may seem to be in positive disobedience to the fifth article of the Secret Instructions. But then, be it remembered, these were " his *own* in-

"structions prepared" by *himself*. And surely, if he was empowered by the king (without the advice, concurrence, or knowledge of his privy council,) to impose on himself such regulations, as he might have thought fit, he could not have been incompetent to grant to himself a dispensation, exempting him from such *observance of them as he might have found inconvenient.*

j. *Yet upon my word we have not above once writ thither, without writing to you.*] Whether that once was when the two following letters of the same date, were dispatched, there is no possibility of ascertaining. But at all events they are not incurious.

k. *Nor can I grow remiss or lazy in the king's service. God knows my heart entertains no other thoughts day or night but how I best may serve him.*] "The chancellor of the exchequer, *who was* "*designed by the king to attend him in Ireland*, "expected only to hear that he was arrived "there; till when he could not present his me-"morials so particularly as was demanded; *nor* "*prepare himself for his voyage thither: and so* "they rested for some time without giving the "court any further trouble by audiences; and "enjoyed themselves in no unpleasant retreat "from business. The chancellor betook himself "to the learning the language by reading their

" books, of which he made a good collection, and " informing himself the best he could of the " government, &c. and there *began* his devotion " upon the Psalms, which he finished *in another* " *banishment*." (Hist. vol. vi. p. 390.)

Another banishment! The last of his three acquiescences was indeed a banishment: but the second, passed in Spain, if a banishment, was self inflicted; and has been elsewhere more properly called one of his " vacations and retreats from " business of trouble and vexation :" during which he did ever after " acknowledge that he did re" ceive much refreshment and benefit: though " the employment proved ineffectual for the pur" poses intended."

Instead of he there *began*, he ought to have written, he there *continued* his devotion on the Psalms. It was while " to his wonderful con" tentment in the very cheerful society of sir " George Carteret and his lady" in Jersey; (where " bene vixit qui bene latuit,") that he first dedicated some of these hours of leisure to composing his " Contemplations and Reflections upon the " Psalms of David." These are dated, Jersey Dec. 26th, 1647.

His Contemplations upon the 68th and two following Psalms are dated, Antwerp July 16th, **Biographia Britannica.**

1651: which, he says, were written a little *after* his return from Spain.

Indeed during the period of his embassy, the very full and particular relation, which he has given, of his numerous avocations and various pursuits shews that he could have had but little time to bestow on these his "*devotional* exercises."

Upon the whole, after that secretary Nicholas had finished the reading of this long letter, he probably was of opinion that there was much of truth in the French proverb's saying—*Qui s'excuse, s'accuse;* and not less of justice in his having reproved the disingenuous selfishness and reserve of "his bosom-friend." Nor is it likely that he was less able to distinguish between real motives and ostensible objects than the lord Treasurer and the chancellor of the Exchequer, when vainly attempting to impose on each other. For, while the former was protesting his conviction that "if "the king would be advised by him to send them "two on an extraordinary embassy into Spain, "they should be able to do his majesty good "service;" the latter knew that he was only "considering how to disentangle himself from "attending his royal master into Ireland, and to "find a good occasion to spend the remainder of

" his age, where he had spent so much of his " youth." And while sir Edward Hyde was declaring " he would be only passive on the point," (of recommending this measure;) but that " if " the king could be wrought upon to speak of it " as according with his own wishes, he would " then submit to his majesty's commands;" the lord Cottington was well aware that " he was " weary of the company, he was in; and weary of " waiting longer on so desperate a fortune:" and on the other hand knew,—no one better,—with what delight he expatiated on his acquiescence of more than two years in Jersey, on his vacation from irksome business, on his retreat from vexatious trouble, and on the refreshment of his spirits in cheerful society.

(8.)

The lord Cottington and sir Edward Hyde to the lord Jermyn.

Our very good Lord,

* * * * * *

Here have, *since our last from your lordship,* *
arrived two expresses from Paris to the Venetian ambassador; the first, with letters of the 17th of the last, which came hither with great expedition,

and the last with others of the 2nd of this month; by which we find that your lordship had no notice of these dispatches; neither can we discover that Contareni hath been yet with the queen; which by his appointment he should have been some days before the date of your last letter: so that it is very probable, what desire soever they seem to have of the queen's interposition, they do in truth more desire to have the whole and entire managery of the business to themselves; and *we shall therefore forbear meddling further in it, except we receive immediate commands from the queen (who can best judge* when the king's mediation will be seasonable and effectual), or are called upon here to do some assistance towards it.

* * * * * *

We have at present nothing more for enlargement, and so kiss your hand, as

Your lordship's
very affectionate humble Servants.

Madrid, this 18th of March, 1650.

A rough draught by sir Edward Hyde.

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* *Since our* last *from your lordship*.] Since our *last* implies that there had been at least *two* letters received by their Excellencies from the lord Jermyn antecedently to the date of the one,

the rough draught of which by sir Ed. Hyde is here given. There are also preserved among the Clarendon State Papers two other letters from the extraordinary ambassadors to the lord Jermyn of earlier dates than the present: the one of Dec. 13, 1649; and the other of Feb. 25th, 1650; and both endorsed as "rough draughts by sir Ed: "Hyde." Now it may here be again observed that all correspondence by letter, excepting with the king alone, was forbidden in the *secret instructions;* his majesty having pledged himself "carefully with his own hand" to answer all their letters. But moreover be it remembered, that the lord Jermyn, howbeit "the queen's chief "officer, and governing all her majesty's receipts," was at this time "under no character," and had "no relation of service" as a minister of state; any more than Ned Hyde in 1643, when secretary Nicholas "embraced and called him his "son," because "he was doing the greater part "of the business" in that office, where he was already named to be his heir and successor.

(9.)

Sir Edward Hyde to her Majesty.

May it Please your Majesty,

Since my lord Treasurer (and I) presented our humble duties jointly to your majesty on the 25th of last month, *I have received the particular favour and honour your majesty did vouchsafe me* on the 31st of January, *which I shall carefully preserve as a precious monument of your grace and goodness towards me; and which will be an unanswerable reproach to me, if I ever shall commit a fault in my devotion to your majesty.*

We have this evening had an audience with the king. He received us very graciously, and promised we should speedily have an answer; and that we might be confident, he would do the utmost for his majesty, his own condition would suffer. We hope, we shall shortly know what his * utmost is; yet *I remember your majesty told me at Paris, that I would find this people full of delay; which I have had too much reason, and too frequently to remember.*

I am *so ambitious that your majesty should know my heart in all things,* that I could not conceal my present fears, though they may be liable to censure; yet *proceeding from entire devotion to your majesty,* I am confident will never render me unworthy your majesty's protection as,

Madam,
your majesty's most obliged
and most humble Servant.

Madrid, 18th March, 1651.

A copy, by Mr. Edgman, endorsed by himself.

I remember your majesty told me at Paris, that I would find this people full of delay; which I have had too much reason, and too frequently to remember.] Were it not known, on the queen's authority, how "far the chancellor was even from "giving her fair words and flattering her," his own more recent protestation,—that "he could "as soon turn witch, and give himself to the devil, "as descend to any little vile arts and tricks to "get the favour of this, or that, body; and that "he reckoned it (the former) the honester way to "hell of the two,"—would alone remove all doubt of the fact, extraordinary as it must seem, that sir Edward Hyde, until his last audience of her majesty, had never heard that dilatoriness in their proceedings, not less than gravity in their deportment, was proverbially characteristic of * "this people;" with whom he was about to reside in an employment, which to himself was—"*extra* "*sphæram activitatis.*"

But this conclusion is negatively corroborated by the chancellor's omitting to remind the queen of another prediction, with which on the same occasion her majesty had honoured him; and which he had also verified on his own experience; namely, that this extraordinary embassy would be "fruitless, as to any advantage *the king* "would receive from it." Since it is natural that the intelligence, which a man for the first time receives, of a truth unknown and unsuspected should impress itself more deeply on his memory, and be more present to his recollection, than such as is already not less familiar to him than to his informant.

(10.)

The lord Chancellor to the earl of Anglesey.*

My good Lord,

I have received your favour of the 8th, and am very glad all those alarms of your frequent indispositions are over, you had need of a very confirmed health, for you have many labours to struggle with, and of more troublesome and exorbitant nature, than those difficulties we wrestle with here, which yet puzzle us enough. My lord lieutenant doth upon all occasions acknowledge the great assistance he hath from you in his majesty's service, and I doubt you both want more hands to help you; and therefore *I am the more sorry for the absence of my lord Orrery in such a conjuncture; and I have now more cause to lament*

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* Arthur Annesley was created earl of Anglesey in 1661. He was treasurer of the navy, and at this time jointly with the earl of Orrery a commissioner for settling the affairs of Ireland; afterwards lord privy-seal.

Bishop Burnet says—" In Ireland the English interest was " managed by two men of a very indifferent reputation, the " earls of Anglesey and Orrery."

He further says in another passage;—" Another man who " passed through many great employments was Annesley, ad" vanced to be earl of Anglesey; who had much more know" ledge, (than Shaftesbury,) and was very learned, chiefly in " law. He was a man of a grave deportment; but stuck at " nothing, and was ashamed of nothing. He was neither loved " nor trusted by any man on any side; and he seemed to have " no regard to common decencies: but sold every thing that " was in his power; and sold himself so often, as at last the " price fell so low that he grew useless."

The right reverend Historian afterwards adds:—" He was " one of those five who, having great credit with the presbyte" rian party, and being men of much dexterity, had the chief " hand in engaging the nation in the design of the Restoration. " They were put in great posts by the earl of Clarendon's " means. By which he lost most of the cavaliers; who could " not bear the seeing such men so highly advanced and so much " trusted.". (Burnet's Hist. of his own Times.)

it, upon a very near concernment of my own, in which I have hitherto forborne to trouble you, being most assured of his solicitation, and as confident of your friendship, in an affair, how near soever relating to me, in which I was an absolute stranger, until my lord Lieutenant and my lord Orrery wrote me word, that there would in a very short time, even as soon as they could receive my advice, be a considerable sum of money ready to be paid to my orders, upon an assignment the king hath been pleased to make to that purpose. I was surprized with it, and looked upon it as a dream, till other letters from my lord Orrery told me the money was received; and though it was upon the necessity of the State applied to the present occasions, it would before this time be repaid, and ready to answer any occasions of mine, and his last told me it was ready.

Upon this confidence, I did engage myself in a purchase, which I am obliged to perform by the middle of the next term, and if I should be disappointed, I should have great reason to wish that I had never heard of it. I desired my lord Orrery not to trouble himself or any other friends further in the matter of exchange, than to put the money into the hands of sir Daniel Bellingham; and upon notice that it is there, I shall myself negociate here with sir Thomas Vyner for my own accommodation.* He writes me word that it will be so, but being now gone from Dublin, except your friendship take effectual care that the money be put speedily into the hands of sir Daniel Bellingham, I shall be in ill case here. I do not in the least degree doubt your more than ordinary care on my behalf, therefore I pray let me know as soon as may be, what I may depend upon for the present or the future in this affair.

* * * * * *

I am sure when I begun this letter, I meant not it should have reached to half this length, but you know I could never be very short when I was in conference with you; yet I cannot conclude, without very earnestly bespeaking all possible favour from you in the behalf of the earl of Portland, and as justice to his father's memory, that the assignment the king intended to his advantage, may by your extraordinary kindness be rendered effectual to his son, who, God knows hath need of it for the payment of some crying debts, which must else inevitably blast all his * hopes. He is a worthy young man; I pray say somewhat to me upon it, and give Will: Brodrick leave to solicit you on his behalf. God bless you, and my good lord,

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* In this letter we find the *authority of the truth of the chancellor's relation* given in the second volume of his Life at page 95.—" After he was informed of all this,"—(trick of his good friends to counteract and frustrate his own foolishness) " he did " not think that there was any thing left for him to do, but to " make his humble acknowledgments to his majesty for his " royal bounty; and to take care for the receiving and trans- " mitting the money; and doubted not but that he might re- " ceive it very honestly." As he immediately adds that—" He " did therefore wait upon his majesty with that duty that " became him;" and as we see in this letter that he instantly complied with the lord Orrery's request by " *giving directions* " *for the disposal of the money; whether he would have it re-* " *turned into England, or laid out in land in Ireland:*" it is very clear that in all, there had been thus *left* for the chancellor *to do*, the only difficulty, if indeed there was any, must have been in this " *doubting not* that he might receive it very honestly."

Your's, &c.

Worcester House, April 18th, 1663.

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* It is mentioned more than once in the Life of the earl of Clarendon, as being a curious coincidence that—" *at the very same time, and the very* " *day*, that the chancellor received the letter from " the lord Lieutenant" (explanatory of this most unexpected grant out of the Irish confiscations,) " *the earl of Portland came to him, and informed* " *him of a difference between the lord Lovelace and* " *sir Bulstrode Whitelocke upon a defect in the* " *title of certain lands;*" and being desirous to reconcile these two disputants, and to prevent an

expensive litigation, "*proposed to the chancellor* "*the buying this land, which lay next to some* "*land he had in Wiltshire.*"

There seems to be here another notable coincidence: that *at the very same time, and the very day*, and in the very letter, when recommending *himself* to the "more than ordinary care" of the earl of Anglesey *in his own behalf*, the chancellor should so earnestly "bespeak" the noble commissioner's "extraordinary kindness" in favour of "*this worthy young man.*"

Of all the many thousand readers of lord Clarendon's Life did ever any one suspect, or conceive to be possible, that it was after such a letter as this had been written, that the illustrious autobiographer could have "*great reason to complain* "*of these his very good friends; who first disposed* "*his majesty to that act of grace, and were not afterwards solicitous enough, in their several places, to* "*make it effectual to him?*" In excuse for a supineness at once so perfidious and ungrateful, it would be in vain to plead inadvertency, or an unintermitted pressure from the accumulating weight of official duties. Since it is evident, that the chancellor neglected not to refresh their memories; or rather, by anticipation, "to whet (ere yet it could have become) the "almost blunted purpose." We find him vigilant alike to remove all doubts and to afford every facility, towards a full and speedy accomplishment of "*the king's signal* "*bounty; it being under so good a security as an* "*act of parliament.*" To which howbeit the royal assent must have been surreptitiously obtained: since the lord high chancellor, of England, then moreover virtually prime minister, and in all the undivided plenitude of dictatorial influence, and delegated sovereignty, "*often protested that he* "*never saw the act of parliament, and was very* "*confident that he never heard of it at the time;* "*or till two years after it had passed!*"

Nor was this the only necessary consequence to be lamented of his "*being often absent from the* "*council, by reason of the gout.*" The notoriety of that too frequently recurring infirmity was probably taken advantage of by the earl of Orrery, when he suggested, not only the *king's being moved to confer upon the chancellor some part of that money to be raised from forfeited estates or otherwise in Ireland; to the end that his majesty might be able to gratify those of the Irish nation, who had any thing of merit towards him, or had been less faulty;* but also that "*a clause of secrecy* "should be inserted, *lest, if the chancellor should* "*have notice of the grant, he should be so foolish as* "*to obstruct it.*" And this, no doubt, he would have made bold to do; although he did not consider himself at liberty to reject the money, after it had been so granted.

Alas ! that the simplicity of plain-dealing should be thus circumvented by the contrivances of worldly wisdom ! Surely then, not with less reason than Falstaff, on detecting lime in his sack, here the earl of Clarendon might have exclaimed, —“ there is nothing but roguery to be found in “ villainous man.”

APPENDIX. No. VI.

MEMOIRS
OF
SIR JOHN BERKLEY,
CONTAINING
AN ACCOUNT OF HIS NEGOTIATION
WITH
LIEUTENANT-GENERAL CROMWELL,
COMMISSARY-GENERAL IRETON,
AND OTHER OFFICERS OF THE ARMY,
For Restoring King Charles the First, to the Exercise
of the Government of England.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY J. DARBY, IN BARTHOLOMEW-CLOSE, FOR A. BALDWIN,
IN WARWICK LANE. MDCXCIX.

MEMOIRS

OF

SIR JOHN BERKLEY.

In the Year 1647, her Majesty, and his Highness the Prince of *Wales*, were pleased to send me into *Holland*, to condole the death of the Prince of *Orange*; and having performed that office, I returned with Mr. *John* and Mr. *William Ashburnham*, to *France*, by the way of *Calais*; where we met with the news of his Majesty's being seized by one Cornet *Joyce*, in *Holmby* House, from whence he was carried with a guard of 400 horse, towards the army, the Cornet producing no authority, whereby to warrant this proceeding. The next Post brought us advertisement to *Calais*, that his Majesty was well received by the officers and soldiers of the Army, and that there were great hopes conceived, that they would both concur to establish his Majesty in his just Rights. From *Calais* we went to *Rouen*, where we met a confirmation of this intelligence, and heard withal, that one Sir *Edward Ford* (who was brother-in-law to Commissary-general *Ireton*) was sent, by her Majesty and his Highness the Prince of *Wales*, into *England*, to discover the intentions of the Army, and to promote an agreement between his Majesty and them. From *Rouen*, we went to *St. Germain's;* where, we were no sooner arrived, but we heard that Mr. *Denham* (who, during his imprisonment, had contracted a great familiarity with Mr. *Peters*, a preacher, and a powerful person in the Army,) was dispatched on a Commission to the like effect, with that of Sir *Edward Ford*. As I was going-up to her Majesty, I met, accidentally, with my Lord *Culpepper*, who scarce had saluted me, before he told me, that I must prepare myself immediately for another journey, her Majesty being resolved to send me into *England*, after Sir *Edward Ford* and Mr. *Denham*. I answered, that I had no pass, nor any acquaintance with any one of the Army; and that I doubted, that, if the King's party should come too thick upon them at first, those of the Army would be jealous, that they should have too many sharers in the places and preferments, which they might, perhaps, meditate to procure and preserve to themselves. His Lordship replied, That, if I were afraid to go into *England*, her Majesty and his Highness would serve themselves of some other person, because they conceived it necessary to employ some to the Army, that might be supposed to have greater trust, both with the Queen in *France*, and with the King in *England*, than either Sir *Edward Ford* or Mr. *Denham* had. I returned, That if, after a serious consideration, it should be judged of use to dispatch me into *England*, I would adventure, though I had not the honour to be very well known to his Majesty, and, therefore, could not expect any great trust from him. To that part, his Lordship replied, That there was an intention to send Mr. *John Ashburnham* after me; but, that he would not go without a pass, and therefore, that I should have it added to my instructions to procure him one. Within few days after, I had my dispatch, and went by the way of *Dieppe*, where I met with Mr. *William Leg*, of the Bedchamber to his Majesty. He embarked with me for *England*; we arrived at *Hastings*, and from thence went the next day towards *London*. Two miles on this side *Tunbridge* I met with Sir *Allen Apsley*, who had been my Lieutenant-governor of *Exeter*, and afterwards Governor of *Barnstaple*, in the County of *Devon*. He told me, that he was going to me from *Cromwell*, and some other officers of the Army, with letters, and a cypher, and instructions, which were to this effect: "That he should "desire me to remember, that, in some conferences with Colonel *Lambert*, and other officers

Cromwell and some other officers of the Parliament Army, send letters to Sir John Berkley, offering to treat with the King for his restoration to the exercise of the Royal authority, In June, 1647.

" of the Army, upon the rendering of *Exeter*, I " had taken notice of the Army's bitter inveighing " against the King's person, as if he had been the " worst of men, and their excessive extolling the " Parliament; both which being without any " colour of ground, I had concluded, that those " discourses were not out of any persuasion of " mind, but affected to prepare men to receive " the alteration of Government, which they intended that the Parliament should effect, by the " assistance of the Army; which I had said, was " not only a most wicked, but a very difficult, if " not an impossible, design, for a few men, not of " the greatest quality, to introduce a popular " Government against the King and his Party, " against the Presbyterians, against the Nobility " and Gentry, against the Laws established, both " Ecclesiastical and Civil, and against the whole " Genius of the Nation, that had been accustomed, for so many ages, to a Monarchical " Government. Whereas, on the other side, if " they would but consider, that those of their " Party had no particular obligations to the Crown, " (as many of the Presbyterians had,) and therefore ought less to despair of his Majesty's Grace " and Favour;—that the Presbyter began this " War upon specious pretences of making the " King a glorious King;—that, under that pretext,

" they had deceived many well-meaning men, " and had brought great things to pass; but that " now the mask was taken-off, and they were discovered to have sought their own advantages— " and, at the same time, that the power to do " themselves much good, or much hurt to others, " was now almost wrested out of their hands; " and that this had been done by the Independent " Party, who could establish themselves, no way " under Heaven, so justly and prudently, as by " making good what the Presbyterians had only " pretended to do, that is, the restoring King and " People to their just and ancient Rights; which " would so ingratiate them with both, that they " would voluntarily invest them with as much " trust and power as Subjects are capable of: " Whereas, if they grasped at more, it would be " with the general hatred, and with their own destruction. To this discourse of mine, they now " informed me that, at that time, they had only " given a hearing, but no consent, as proceeding " from an interest much divided from theirs: but " that they had since found, by experience, all, or " the most part, of it, to be so reasonable, that " they were resolved to put it in practice, as I " might perceive by what had already passed. " They desired for the present nothing of me, but " that I would present them humbly to the Queen "and Prince, and be Suitor to them in their "names, not to condemn them absolutely, but to "suspend their Opinions of them, and their Pre-"tensions towards his Majesty, and judge them "rather by their future Behaviour; of the inno-"cence whereof they had already given some "Testimonies to the World, and would do more "and more, daily. When I should have done "this Office, they desired I would come over into "*England*, and become an eye-witness of their "proceedings." I thought this rencontre no ill *Omen* to my future proceedings. Sir *Allen Apsley* told me I should have to do with subtil men, that governed themselves by other maxims than the rest of the World. I remember I answered, that the caution was good, and that I would arm myself the best I could; but that it was hard to secure ourselves from malicious men, when we were absolutely in their power. I took the best information I could from Sir *Allen Apsley*, and resolved with him to go into *London*, before I went to the King or the Army, that I might be enlightened by the most able men of our Party; which I did, and collected this following discourse from them.

The state of the two Parties of Presbyterians and Independents in June, 1647.

During the time his Majesty was at *Newcastle*, the Independent Party was so prevalent in the House of Commons, that the Presbyterians were forced to consent to have the King rendered by the *Scots* to the Parliament; and his Majesty was accordingly delivered by them to the *English* Committee, and a guard of *English* set upon him of the Presbyterian party, and no passionate enemies of his Majesty. The Presbyterian party, (that was very numerous in the House of Commons, and over-voted the other in most questions,) had engaged themselves privately (by some of their Chiefs) to the *Scots* in two points; first, that the Army should be disbanded, and then that the King should be brought to his Parliament with Honour and Safety. The disbanding was gone-about very seriously by the Parliament; and a Committee (whereof the Earl of *Warwick* was the chief) chosen, and accordingly sent to *Newmarket*, or *Saffron-walden*, where the Army then lay. Many of the Army professed really their obedience to the Parliament as to the disbanding; but none more solemnly than *Cromwell*, who made great execrations against himself in the House, if he did not desire it cordially. He had always professed great submission to the Parliament, (who had very liberally rewarded him for his service,) and was hopeful to have begotten so great a confidence in them, that they would have been contented to entertain the Army as their Pretorian Band; and therefore was very sorry to see the House bent to license them, but durst not appear against it, because he had many illwillers in the Army, and did believe they durst not, or would not, unanimously oppose the Parliament in that particular, and therefore refused to go to the Army, tho' he was sent-for often by the mutinous party, who upon that score were not a little offended with him; and at length, their discontents increasing, seeing themselves deserted by their superior officers, they thought of some means to secure themselves from their ungrateful Parliament, which they began now perfectly to hate; and thereupon they chose to themselves Adjutators in every regiment, and in every troop of horse, by whom they engaged themselves to be absolutely concluded. The first Resolution these new-elected Officers took, was, not to disband, and, the next, to seize the King's Person. *Cromwell* staid very long in *London*, for one that had been the Author of that design: however, he at last stole out of Town, and joined with the Mutineers, but did not so readily concur in the seizing the King's Person, or at least pretended not to do it; For he sent his Kinsman, *Whalley*, with Orders to use all means but Force, to cause his Majesty to return to *Holmby*; but his Majesty absolutely refusing, *Whalley* marched with his Majesty towards the Army.

The Army refuses to be disbanded.

They chuse new officers called *Adjutators*, or *Agitators*, to manage their disputes with the Parliament.

This account I had from the most discerning of my acquaintance in *London*, from whence I went to the Head-Quarters at *Reading*, with intention (after I had delivered my Message) to desire leave to wait on his Majesty at *Causum*. I was no sooner arrived at *Reading*, but I spoke with Sir *Edward Ford* and Mr. *John Denham*. Both of them were much of the same advice with those I had discoursed with at *London* concerning the present power of the Adjutators, by whom the most important affairs of the Kingdom and Army were transacted. By them I learnt that his Majesty came very unwillingly from *Holmby*; that his Majesty would not go to the Army, tho' he were earnestly invited by the Officers; that his Majesty, against the consent of the Army, concurred with the Vote of the Parliament, to go to *Richmond*, where he would have been out of the Army's power, and would not be persuaded out of his resolution, till the Army forced the Parliament to recal their Vote: Then his Majesty would needs go to *Windsor*, much against the sense of the Army; but, because they could not persuade his Majesty, they forced him from thence by ill-usage; and that the rather, because he would not be intreated to pass by the Army in his way to *Windsor*: In sum, they doubted that his Majesty hearkened to some secret propositions of the

Presbyterians, and bent all his thoughts to make an absolute Breach between the Army and the Parliament; which *Ireton* discerned, and told his Majesty plainly, "Sir, you have an intention to "be the Arbitrator between the Parliament and "us, and we mean to be it between your Majesty "and the Parliament."

Sir John Berkley has a conference with Cromwell and two other great officers of the Army.

Two or three hours after my arrival, *Cromwell* sent an officer to excuse him to me, that he could not wait on me till ten at night, by reason he was sitting with the Committee of Parliament, and should not rise till then. He came then accompanied with *Rainsborough,* and Sir *Hardress Waller*. After general discourse, I told him the sum of my Instructions from the Queen and Prince; which were to assure them, that her Majesty and his Highness, were not partial to the Presbyterians, nor any way averse to them; that I should endeavour to incline his Majesty to comply with them, as far as would stand with his honour and conscience, and to dispose them to press his Majesty no farther. His answer was in these words: "That, whatever the World might "judge of them, they would be found no seekers "of themselves, farther than to have leave to live "as Subjects ought to do, and to preserve their "consciences; and that they thought no men "could enjoy their Lives and Estates quietly,

Cromwell's Declaration of his sincere desire of seeing the King restored to the exercise of his royal authority upon safe and reasonable terms.

" without the King had his Rights, which they " had declared in general terms already to the " World, and would more particularly very " speedily, wherein they would comprise the " several Interests of the Royal, Presbyterian, and " Independent Parties, as far as they were consist- " ing with each other;" which I understood afterwards, to be meant of the *Proposals* of the Army. I went the next day to the General, by *Cromwell's* direction, to ask his leave to see the King; which he was pleased to grant. I delivered my Letters and Instructions to his Majesty. I found that his Majesty discovered not only to me, but to every one he was pleased to converse with, a total diffidence of all the Army, except *Huntington*, and grounded it chiefly upon the Officers backwardness, to treat of receiving any favour, or advantage from his Majesty. I was of his Majesty's sense, that men whose hands were yet hot with the blood of his most faithful Subjects, ought not entirely to be trusted, but thought they ought absolutely to be well dissembled-with, whilst his Majesty was in their hands, at least, that he might the better get out of them; and, to this end, I offered several expedients; as, to suffer *Peters* to preach before his Majesty, of which he was very ambitious; and to converse with him, and others of the Army, with freedom; and, by all means, to

Sir John Berkley has a conference with the King.

endeavour to gain the good opinion of the most active Adjutators, and the like. But his Majesty concurred in none of them; which made me doubt that his Majesty valued my reasons something the worse on account of the Author of them; and therefore I meditated nothing so much, as to procure a pass for Mr. *John Ashburnham*, with whom I hoped I might prevail, and he with his Majesty; which, within few days after, I did obtain, and caused it to be delivered to his Servant.

About four days after my coming to the Army, there came two General Officers from the Council of War to me, to let me know, that they had been informed that I had some wrong done me upon the Rendition of *Exeter*, to a great value; and that, if I would put the sum under my hand, they would see that I should have satisfaction. I gave them most hearty thanks; but withal told them, that I came not to them upon my own business, but that of his Majesty; which as soon as they should dispatch, no man living would be more ready to receive and acknowledge this, or any other, favour from them; till then, it would no way become me to do it. This was a generosity which those Self-denyers thought might do well in discourse and speculation; but could not understand it, when brought into practice, and therefore concluded that I was so great a Presbyterian, that I would chuse rather to loose twelve hundred pounds (which was my pretension) than to offend my Lord *Roberts*, a great Presbyterian, who must have made me reparation; in which opinion they were confirmed by two Letters they had lately perused, the one from Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, at *Antwerp*, and the other from Sir *William Fleetwood*, at *London*; both affirming, that to their knowledge I was an engaged Presbyterian. I was altogether a stranger to them both, and therefore did attribute this, either to their envy that I was admitted, or grief that they were excluded from the employment, between his Majesty and the Army. However it was, upon those surmises *Cromwell* came to expostulate the matter plainly with me, and I replied to him in these words, That I was as much Presbyterian as Independent; that I, as well as others, was inclined to think the better of them, because they pretended to mind the King's Restoration; but bid them be assured, that as soon as I should discover they were not real, I, and, I thought, all the King's Party, would join with any that would but dissemble better than they; and concluded, that I thought nothing would separate the Crown and the King's Party. *Cromwell* seemed not unsatisfied with this plain dealing, and so left me. The next day, *Huntington,* who was sent to me by the King, made me acquainted with two General Officers, whom I durst not name, because they are obnoxious to the present power. With these I had often, and free Communication; and inquiring what opinion they had of the Army in general, as to a conjunction with the King, they replied, that they did believe, it was universally desired both by the Officers and Adjutators;—that, if *Cromwell* was not real in it, he was a great Dissembler, and so was *Ireton*;—that, for the present the whole Army was so bent upon it, that they durst not be otherwise;—that, if they should ever happen to change, they should easily discover it; and, because they had been, in great part, the cause that Sir *Allen Apsley* was sent to me, they thought themselves obliged to give me all the light they could of things and persons; which to the last they performed, in my opinion, most sincerely. I let them know at our first meeting, that I doubted there would be three great difficulties, which would obstruct the Agreement. First, they would expect that the King should not only give them Liberty of Conscience, but alter the Established Ecclesiastical Government, which his Majesty was persuaded, he could not in conscience do. The second, that they would not be contented to separate some few men from the Court, and from bearing great Offices, unless they and their Posterity were ruined, and that by the King's Act; which his Majesty could not in honour permit. And, thirdly, that they would not be contented with a security of the Militia, during his Majestie's life; and his Majesty could not grant it farther, but infinitely to the prejudice of his posterity. They assured me that his Majesty would be pressed in none of these particulars, and that there was a draught of Proposals, which *Ireton* had drawn, and which would certainly be voted by the whole Army, wherein there was nothing tending to any such purpose; and, if his Majesty would consent to them, there would be an end of all difficulties; and they thought that, the sooner his Majesty did it, the better it would be; because there was no certainty in the temper of the Army, which they had observed to have altered more than once already. I asked whether I might not have a sight of these proposals; they answered, when I pleased. I went with them to *Ireton* for that purpose, and remained with him almost till morning. He permitted me to alter two of the articles, and that in most material points; and I would have done a third, which was, the excluding seven persons (that were not named) from pardon, and the admitting of our party, to sit in the next Parliament. To

Sir John Berkley examines the proposals of the Army in conjunction with Commissary General Ireton.

the first he answered, That being they had prevailed in the War, if they should not in the sight of the World make some distinction between themselves and those that were worsted (who always bear the blame of publick quarrels) they had so many malicious enemies, both in the Parliament and Army, that they should be censured of betraying their party, and to have sought their own ends by private and indirect means. To the second, He confessed that he should himself be afraid of a Parliament, wherein the King's party should have the major vote: but after the agreement, if the King's party, and they, could piece kindly and cordially together, there would be nothing easier, than to procure his Majesty satisfaction in those two particulars. He concluded, by conjuring me, as I tendered his Majestie's good and welfare, that I would endeavour to prevail with him, to grant the proposals, that they might with the more confidence propound them to the Parliament, and make an end of all differences. Out of my discourses and inquiries, I collected these observations: First, that the Army was governed partly by a Council of War, and partly by a Council of the Army, or Agitators, wherein the General had but a single voice; that *Fairfax*, the General, had little power in either; that *Cromwell*, and his son *Ireton*, with their

Of the Opinions and Inclinations of the Army at the time of making these proposals to the King.

Friends and Partisans, governed the Council of War absolutely, but not that of the Army, which was the most powerful, though they had a strong party there also; but the major part of the Adjutators carried it. Amongst these Adjutators, there were many ill-wishers of *Cromwell*, looking on him as one who would always make his advantages out of the Army. These observed that *Cromwell* resolved to prosecute his ambitious ends, through all means whatsoever, and did not only dissemble, but really change his way to those ends; and, when he thought the Parliament would make his fortune, resigned himself totally to them, even to the disbanding of the Army before it was paid: When the Presbyterians prevailed, he took the Covenant: When he quitted the Parliament, his chief dependence was on the Army, which he endeavoured, by all means, to keep in unity; and, if he could not bring it to his sense, he, rather than suffer any division in it, went-over himself, and carried his friends with him, into that way which the Army did chuse; and that faster than any other person in it. Upon this ground, when the Army was for the Parliament, no man so violent as he in both: When the Army became for the King against the Parliament, no man drove so furiously as he: and, when the Army changed a third time for the Parliament,

Many of the Agitators are jealous of the ambitious designs of Cromwell.

and against the King, he was still the Leader: and, if the Army shall change a fourth time, to become Levellers (though he will oppose this at first, as he did all other changes), no man shall out-go him in Levelling. All that he seems to desire is, that the Army would be constant in any way, that he might not be necessitated to the playing of so many different parts, he being equally indifferent to all that will afford him equal advantages.

When I came to *Reading*, I found many of the Adjutators jealous, that *Cromwell* was not sincere for the King, and they desired me, if I found him false to their engagement, that I would let them know it, and they did not doubt to set him right, either with, or against, his will. But, in all my conferences with him, I found no man, in appearance, so zealous for a speedy blow as he; sometimes wishing that the King was more frank, and would not tie himself so strictly to narrow maxims; sometimes complaining of his son *Ireton's* slowness in perfecting the proposals, and his not accommodating more to his Majesty's sense; always doubting, that the Army would not preserve their good inclinations for the King. I met with him about three days after I came to *Reading*, as he was coming from the King, then at *Causum*: He told me, that he had lately seen

But he appeared to Sir John Berkley to be earnestly desirous of a speedy agreement with the King.

the tenderest sight that ever his eyes beheld, which was the interview between the King and his Children, and wept plentifully at the remembrance of it, saying, That never man was so abused as he, in his sinister opinions of the King, who, he thought, was the uprightest and most conscientious man of his three Kingdoms; that they, of the Independent Party, (as they were called) had infinite obligations to him, for not consenting to the *Scots* Propositions at *Newcastle,* which would have totally ruined them, and which his Majesty's Interest seemed to invite him to; and concluded, with me, by wishing, that God would be pleased to look upon him according to the sincerity of his heart towards his Majesty. I immediately acquainted his Majesty with this passage; who seemed not well edified with it, and did believe, that all proceeded out of the use *Cromwell* and the Army had of his Majesty, without whom, he thought, they could do nothing; and this, I conceive, was inculcated daily, by *Bampfield* and *Loe,* at first, and afterwards by the Lord *Lauderdale,* who had frequent accesses to his Majesty from the *Scots,* the Presbyterians, and the City of *London,* who knew there was nothing so fatal to them as a conjunction between the King and the Army. Out of all my observations I drew these conclusions, which I prosecuted to the best of my power: That his Majesty was concerned to come to a speedy issue with the Army; that he might either agree with them, or discover that they intended not to agree with him; and, in that case, that his Majesty should secure his escape, and, in the mean time, that his Majesty should not give them the least colour of exception to his actions; that, seeing the officers were more easily fixed to his Majesty, by a visible prospect of their interest, in case of a conjunction, I took the least pains with them, and applied myself to *Peters* and the Adjutators, who swayed their officers more than their officers commanded them; and, it was more hard to satisfy them (being many) in point of interest, than their officers, who were few.

About ten days after my arrival at the Army, the contentions grew high and hot between them and the Presbyterian Party, in the House, (which was the major-part by much), and the City of *London;* the one contending to have the Parliament purged of corrupt Members; and the other, to have the Army removed farther from the City. This caused the Army's march from *Reading* to *Bedford,* and, consequently, his Majesty's remove, with his wonted guard, from *Causum* to *Wooburn,* a house of the Earl of *Bedford,* where I procured his Majesty a sight of the Army's Proposals, six

The King peruses the proposals of the Army for his restoration before they are publickly presented to him. About the 25th of July, 1647.

or eight days before they were offered to him in publick. His Majesty was much displeased with them in general, saying, That, if they had a mind to close with him, they would never impose so hard terms upon him. I replied, That, if they had demanded less than they had done, I should have suspected them more than I now did, of intending not really to serve his Majesty, but only to abuse him; since it was not likely that men, who had, through so great dangers and difficulties, acquired so great advantages, should ever sit-down with less than was contained in the Proposals; and, on the other side, never was a Crown (that had been so near lost,) so cheaply recovered, as his Majesty's would be, if they agreed upon such terms. His Majesty was of another advice, and returned, That they could not subsist without him, and therefore he did not doubt but that he should see them very shortly be glad to condescend farther; and then objected to three particular points of the Proposals. The first was, The exception of seven, not named, from pardon. The second, The excluding his party from being eligible in the next ensuing Parliament. And the third, That though there was nothing done against the Church-government established, yet there was nothing done to assert it. To these, I replied, That after his Majesty and

The King objects to three articles of them.

the Army were accorded, it would be no impossible work to make them remit in the first-point; and, if he could not, when his Majesty was re-instated in his Throne, he might easily supply seven persons beyond the seas, in such sort as to make their banishment supportable to them. To the second; That the next Parliament would be necessitated to lay great burdens upon the Kingdom; and it would be a happiness to the King's Party, to have no voice in them. To the third, That the Law was security enough for the Church, and it was happy that men, who had fought against the Church, should be reduced (when they were superiors), not to speak against it. His Majesty broke from me with this expression, "Well! I shall see them glad ere long to accept more equal terms." I now began to long impatiently for Mr. *Ashburnham,* as hoping he had some better topicks for his Majesty; and, within a few days after, he arrived, to his Majesty's great contentment as well as mine. His instructions referred to mine, which we were to prosecute jointly. I gave him presently all the light I had, which he seemed to embrace at first; but, after he had discoursed more amply with his Majesty, I found him so far from crossing him, that he abounded in his Majesty's sense, and held afterwards this discourse with me; "That, for his

Mr. John Ashburnham arrives in England, and confers with the King concerning them.

part, he was always bred in the best company, and, therefore, could not converse with such senseless fellows as the Agitators were; that, if we could gain the officers sure to the King, there was no doubt, but they would be able to command their own Army, and, therefore he was resolved to apply himself totally to them." And so he did; and there grew immediately great familiarities between him and *Whalley,* (Captain of the Guard that waited on the King,) and then with *Cromwell* and *Ireton;* and daily messages between his Majesty and the head-quarters, which Mr. *Ashburnham* carried, and sometimes me with him, though I seldom knew the message; at least he would have me believe I did not; for he chose to speak apart with *Cromwell* and *Ireton,* when I was present, alledging, that they would not speak freely to two at once. What, with the pleasure of having so concurring a second as Mr. *Ashburnham,* and what with the encouraging messages, which his Majesty had (by my Lord *Lauderdale,* and others) from the Presbyterian Party and the City of *London,* who pretended to despise the Army, and to oppose them to death, his Majesty seemed very much erected; insomuch, that, when the proposals were solemnly sent to him, and his concurrence most humbly and earnestly desired, his Majesty (not only to the astonishment of

The King rejects, with disdain, the proposals of the Army. August 2, 1647.

Ireton and the rest, but even to mine) entertained them with very tart and bitter discourses; saying, sometimes, that he would have no man to suffer for his sake, and that he repented of nothing so much as the Bill against the Lord *Strafford;* (which, though most true, was unpleasant for them to hear;) That, he would have the Church established according to Law, by the Proposals. They replied, it was none of their work to do it; that it was enough for them to wave the point, and they hoped, enough for his Majesty, since he had waved the Government itself in *Scotland.* His Majesty said, that he hoped God had forgiven him that sin, and repeated often, *You cannot be without me; You will fall to ruin if I do not sustain you.* Many of the Army that were present, and wished well, (at least, as they pretended,) to the Agreement, looked wishfully, and with wonder, upon me and Mr. *Ashburnham;* and I, as much as I durst, upon his Majesty, who would take no notice of it, until I was forced to step to him, and whisper in his ear; *Sir, your Majesty speaks as if you had some secret strength and power that I do not know of; and, since your Majesty hath concealed it from me, I wish you had concealed it from these men to.* His Majesty soon recollected himself, and began to sweeten his former discourse with great power of language and behaviour. But it was now of the latest. For Colonel *Rainsborough*, (who of all the Army, seemed the least to wish the accord,) in the middle of the Conference stole away, and posted to the Army, which he inflamed against the King, with all the artificial malice he had. As soon as the Conference ended, I followed him to *Bedford*, where the Army then lay. I met with some of the Adjutators, who asked me what his Majesty meant, to entertain their Commissioners so harshly? I told them that *Rainsborough* had delivered it amiss to to them, as, indeed he had, by adding to the truth. I then desired a meeting with *Ireton*, and the rest of the superiour officers, and obtained it, and there asked them, if the King should grant the Proposals, what would ensue? They replied, they would offer them to the Parliament: But, if they refused them, what would they do then? They replied, they would not tell me. I then returned, that I would tell them, I would lose no more time with them: For, if there came of Proposals nothing but the propounding, I could then propound as well as they. They all replied, That it was not for them to say, directly, what they would do against the Parliament; but, intimated, that they did not doubt of being able to prevail with the Parliament. When I appeared not fully satisfied with this reply, *Rainsborough* spoke-out in

Some of the Agitators of the Army are disgusted at the King's harsh manner of rejecting their Proposals of Peace.

these words, *If they will not agree, we will make them;* to which the whole company assented. But we had a harder work with his Majesty, who was so far from granting, that he sent for Sir Sir *Thomas Gardiner,* Mr. *Jeffry Palmer,* and Sir *Orlando Bridgman,* his learned Counsel, men, indeed, of great abilities and integrity; to these were added Mr. *Philip Warwick,* Mr. *Ashburnham,* Mr. *Denham,* Sir *Richard Ford,* Dr. *Gough* (who came-over with Mr. *Ashburnham* from *France,* Dr. *Sheldon,* Dr. *Hammond,* and myself. We easily answered the Proposals, both in point of Law and Reason. But we had to do with what was stronger.

The King employs several able Lawyers and Clergymen to justify to the Army his refusal to consent to their Proposals.

But without success.

All this while there wanted not those that meditated a better understanding between the Parliament and the Army; but that not taking effect, the Army advanced nearer *London,* and lodged at *Windsor,* and his Majesty at *Stoke.* At this time, those that were supposed best inclined to his Majesty, in the Army, seemed much afflicted with his Majesty's backwardness to concur with the Army in the Proposals; and the rather, because they conceived great hopes, that, within few days, they should be masters of *London,* which they doubted might alter the temper of the Army towards the King. *Cromwell, Ireton,* and the rest of the superiour officers of the Army, knew that *London* would certainly be theirs, two days before they communicated it to the Army; and, therefore, sent an express to Mr. *Ashburnham*, and to me, to express to us that, since his Majesty would not yield to the Proposals, yet he should, at least, send a kind letter to the Army, before it were commonly known that *London* would submit. We caused a meeting of the above-named persons at *Windsor*, where the letter was immediately drawn: but his Majesty would not sign it, till after three or four several debates; which lost one whole day's time, if not more. Mr. *Ashburnham* and I went with it, at last, and, upon the way, met with messages to hasten it. But, before we came to *Syon*, the Commissioners from *London* were arrived, and our letter was out of season; for, though his Majesty was ignorant of the success, when he signed the letter, yet, coming after it was known, it lost both it's grace and it's efficacy. All that the officers could do, they did; which was, whilst the Army was in the Act of Thanksgiving to God for their success, to propose, that they should not be elevated with it, but keep still to their former engagement to his Majesty, and, once more, solemnly vote the Proposals; which was accordingly done. The next day the Army marched into *London*, and some few of the Presbyterian Party, that had been most active against the Army, disappeared. From *London*, the

The Army marches into London, August 6, 1647. And they again vote to adhere to their Proposals to the King. And the King is lodged at Hampton-Court.

Head-quarters came to *Putney*, and his Majesty was lodged at *Hampton-Court*. Mr. *Ashburnham* had, daily, some message or another from the King, to *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, who had enough to do both in the Parliament and Council of the Army, the one abounding with Presbyterians, the other with Levellers, and both really jealous that *Cromwell* and *Ireton* had made a private compact and bargain with the King: *Lilburn*, printing books, weekly, to that effect: and Sir *Lewis Dives*, afterwards, acknowledged to me, that, being his fellow-prisoner, he had daily endeavoured to possess him with that opinion; of which, although, he were not persuaded himself, yet he judged it for the King's service, to divide *Cromwell* and the Army. On the other side, the Presbyterians were no less confident of their surmises; and, amongst them, *Cromwell* told me, that my Lady *Carlisle* affirmed, that I had said to her Ladyship, that he was to be Earl of *Essex*, and Captain of the King's Guards. I had the honour to be well-known to her Ladyship, but, forbore, contrary to my duty and inclination, to wait on her, for fear of giving any umbrage to the Army, she being of the contrary Party; but, having received several messages from her Ladyship, by my Lady *Newport* and others, I waited on her. I was not long there, before *Arpin* came into her chamber, who was an Adjutator, and was sent-for, as I conceived, to be an eye-witness that I was in my lady *Carlisle's* chamber, though nothing passed between us but general discourses; and I should have lyed if I had said any thing to that purpose. But these and the like discourses made great impression on the Army; to which Mr. *Ashburnham's* secret and long conferences contributed not a little; insomuch, that the Adjutators, who were wont to complain that *Cromwell* went too slow towards the King, began now to suspect that he had gone too fast, and left them behind him: from whence there were frequent complaints in the council of the Army, of the intimacy Mr. *Ashburnham* and I had in the Army; that *Cromwell's* and *Ireton's* door was open to us when it was shut to them; that they knew not why Malignants should have so much countenance in the Army, and liberty with the King. These discourses, both in publick and private, *Cromwell* seemed highly to be offended with; and, when he could carry any thing to his Majesty's advantage amongst the Adjutators, could not rest until he had made us privately partakers of it; but withal he told Mr. *Ashburnham* and me, that, if he were an honest man, he had said enough of the sincerity of his intentions; if he were not, nothing was enough, and therefore conjured us, as we tendered

The Agitators of the Army grow continually more and more jealous of the ambitious designs of Cromwell.

his Majesty's service, not to come so frequently to his quarters, but send privately to him, the suspicions of him being grown to that height, that he was afraid to lie in his own quarters. But this had no operation upon Mr. *Ashburnham*, who alledged, that we must shew them the necessity of agreeing with the King from their own disorders.

The Parliament again offers to the King propositions of Peace. September 7, 1647.

About three weeks after the Army had entered *London*, the *Scots* had prevailed with the Parliament for another solemn address to his Majesty, which was performed in the old propositions of *Newcastle*, some particulars in respect to the *Scots* only excepted. The Army was very unwilling that the King should grant these Propositions, of which the King advised with all the persons above-mentioned; who were all of opinion, that it was unsafe for his Majesty to close with the Enemies of the Army whilst he was in it. And therefore he followed the advice of all the leading part of the Independent Party both in the Parliament and Army, by refusing the articles, and desiring a personal Treaty; whereof his Majesty thought the Proposals of the Army a better ground than the articles, though there were something in them to which his Majesty could not consent. We gave our friends in the Army a sight of this answer the day before it was

But the King rejects them. Sept. 13, 1647.

sent, with which they seemed infinitely satisfied, and promised to use their utmost endeavours to procure a personal Treaty, and to my understanding performed it: for both *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, with *Vane* and all their Friends, seconded with great resolution, this desire of his Majesty. But, contrary to their and all mens expectations, they found a most general opposition, and that this Message of his Majesty had confirmed the jealousy of their private agreement with the King; so that the more it was urged by *Cromwell*, &c. the more it was rejected by the rest, who looked on them as their betrayers. The suspicions were so strong in the House, that they lost almost all their friends there; and the Army, that lay then about *Putney*, were no less ill-satisfied: for there came down shoals every day from *London* of the Presbyterian and Levelling Parties that fomented these jealousies; insomuch that *Cromwell* thought himself, or pretended it, not secure in his own quarters. The Adjutators now began to change their discourses, and complained openly in their councils both of the King and the Malignants about his Majesty. One of the first they voted from him was myself. They said, that, since his Majesty had not accepted of their proposals, they were not obliged any farther to them; that they were obliged to consult their own safety, and the

The greater part of the Army grows thereupon indisposed towards the King, and jealous of the ambitious designs of Cromwell.

good of the Kingdom, and to use such means towards both as they should find rational: and, because they met with strong opposition from *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, and most of the superiour officers, and some even of the Adjutators, they had many private solemn meetings in *London*, where they humbled themselves before the Lord, and sought his good pleasure, and desired that he would be pleased to reveal it to his Saints, which they interpret those to be who are most violent or zealous (as they call it) in the work of the Lord. These found it apparent that God had, on the one side, hardened the King's heart, and blinded his eyes, in not passing the proposals, whereby they were absolved from offering them any more; and, on the other side, the Lord had led Captivity captive, and put all things under their feet, and therefore they were bound to finish the work of the Lord, which was, to alter the Government, according to their first design: and to this end they resolved to seize the King's Person, and take him out of *Cromwell's* hands. These proceedings struck so great a terror into *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, with others of the officers, that we supposed best-affected to us, that they were of opinion the Army should be drawn to a rendezvous, and their endeavours used to engage them once more to adhere to the proposals. As soon as the tumultu-

And a great part of it resolves to seize the King's person, and put him to death, as the criminal author of all the blood-shed and misery of the late civil war.

ous part of the Army had notice of it, they resolved, before the day of the rendezvous, to seize the King's Person. I had been now about three weeks removed from the King, and about a fortnight after me Mr. *Ashburnham.* Mr. *Leg* still remained with his Majesty, and waited in his bed-chamber.

The King resolves to endeavour to make his escape from Hampton-Court.

About the 3d of November, 1647.

About eight or ten days before the time appointed for the drawing-together of the Army, Mr. *Ashburnham* invited me from *London*, and Mr. *Leg* from *Hampton-Court*, to dine with him on a Sunday at *Ditton*, being the other side of the water. They were both there long before me, and I a good while before dinner. But just as dinner was ready to come-in, they took me aside in the room, and told me that his Majesty was really afraid of his life by the tumultuous part of the Army, and was resolved to make his escape; and that they had order from his Majesty to command me in his name to wait on his Majesty in his intended escape. I replied, It was a great honour, and accompanied with not a little danger; but withal it was new to me, and therefore nothing occurred to my thoughts at present but two things: the first was, that I thought it absolutely necessary that Mr. *Ashburnham*, who kept the King's money, should immediately employ his servant *Dutton*, who was well-acquainted with the coast, to provide three or four ships in several ports, to be ready in all events; the second, that I also might receive his Majesty's commands immediately from himself. To the first they seemed to concur; but nothing was ever done in it: which to this day amazes me. The other was effected, and I went the *Tuesday* night after to *Hampton-Court* privately, being introduced a back way by Mr. *Leg.* The King told me he was afraid of his life, and that he would have me assist in person in his escape. I asked, which way his Majesty would go? his Majesty replied, that both Mr. *Ashburnham,* who was present, and I, should know that by *Will. Leg.* The *Monday* before, Mr. *Ashburnham* and I went to the head-quarters, to desire passes to return beyond the seas; and by the way back he told me, that the *Scots* had much tampering with the King, but could come to no agreement; that they would fain have his Majesty out of the Army, and to that end had much augmented his just fears; and therefore asked me what I thought of his Majesty's coming privately to *London,* and appearing in the House of Lords? I replied, Very ill; because the Army were absolutely masters both of the City and Parliament, and would undoubtedly seize his Majesty; and, if there should be but two swords drawn in the scuffle, they would accuse his Majesty of beginning a new war, and proceed with him accordingly. He then asked me what I thought of the *Isle of Wight?* I replied, " better than of *London;* though I knew nothing of it, nor who was Governour." He replied, that he had had some communication with the Governour of late, and conceived good hopes of him, but had no assurance from him. I then asked him, Why his Majesty would not make his retreat secure by quitting the kingdom ? He replied, that he would not, for two reasons ; the first was, that the rendezvous would be a week after, and his Majesty was not willing to quit the Army before that were passed; because, if the superiour officers prevailed, they would be able to make good their publick engagement; and, if they were overtopped, they must apply themselves to the King for their own security. The second was, that the *Scots* were in Treaty with the King, and very near to a conclusion of it; which they would never come-to, but out of their desire to separate the King and the Army; that, if the King went to them before the conclusion of it, they would hold him to impossible conditions; and therefore his Majesty was resolved to conclude with them first. In which advice Mr. *Ashburnham* was most positive, and told me often, " that the world would laugh at us, if we quitted the Army before we had agreed

The King escapes from Hampton-Court about eight or nine o'clock in the evening of the 10th of November, 1647.

with the *Scots*; "and let them do so, replied I, provided his Majesty be secure." On the *Wednesday*, as I take it, we had orders to send spare horses to *Sutton* in *Hampshire*, a place where I never had been; and the *Thursday* after, his Majesty, with *Will. Leg*, came-out at the closing of the evening, and immediately went towards *Oatlands*, and so through the forest; where his Majesty was our guide: but we lost our way, (though he were well-acquainted with it,) the night being excessively dark and stormy. When his Majesty first sat-out, he discoursed long with Mr. *Ashburnham*, and at last called me to him, and complained very much of the *Scots* Commissioners, who were the first that presented his dangers to him, and offered him Expedients for his escape: but, when he proposed to make use of those they had offered, they were full of objections to them; saying, that his coming into *London* was desperate, his hiding in *England* chimerical, and his escape to *Jersey* prevented, because my ship was discovered; which particular, the King said, my Lord Lanerick had affirmed. The King thereupon asked me, if I had ever a ship ready? I answered, that I neither had, nor could have, any, having not one penny of money; that I had desired Mr. *Ashburnham* earnestly to make provision, but knew not what he had done in it. The King then

The King escapes from Hampton-Court about eight or nine o'clock in the evening of the 10th of November, 1647.

asked me, what I thought might be the reason they should say that I had one, and that it had been discovered, if I had none? I replied, It was hard for me to affirm what was their meaning in that particular, or, in general, in their manner of proceeding with his Majesty: but I did conjecture, that they were very desirous to have his Majesty out of the Army; which made them present his dangers to him so frequently as they had done: and, in the next place, they desired that his Majesty should put himself again into their hands, but wanted confidence, or believed it would be ineffectual, to move it directly to his Majesty, because they had given so ill an account of him, when he was last with them; and therefore they objected against their own Expedients of either coming openly into *London*, or of obscuring himself in *England*. And, because they could find no other reason against his going to *Jersey*, they pretended that I had a Ship which had been discovered; believing, perhaps, that I was totally separated from his Majesty, and so should not have had any opportunity of contradicting it; and by this means his Majesty, being excluded from all other means of escaping, should have been necessitated to make use of *Scotland*. His Majesty laid his hand upon my shoulder, and said, "I think thou art in the right," and believed it afterward more confidently than I did. I then asked his Majesty "which way he would go;" his Majesty replied, "that he hoped to be at *Sutton* "three hours before day, and that, while our "horses were making ready, we would consider "what course to take." But, what by the length and badness of the road, the darkness of the night, and our going at least ten miles out of our way, it was day-break when we came to our Inn at *Sutton*; where our servant came out to us, and told us there was a Committee of the County then sitting about the Parliament's business.

His Majesty thereupon sent for our horses out, and we continued our way towards *Southampton*; and his Majesty resolved, that we four should walk down the next hill with our horses in our hands, and, as we walked, consult what we were to do. Then I inquired if Mr. *Ashburnham* had gotten a ship, and, finding he had not, I proposed going farther West, where I was sure I had some friends would favour our escape: and here again I found the two reasons prevail, of not leaving the Army before the rendezvous was passed, and the treaty with the *Scots* finished. His Majesty resolved (and that for the first time, for aught I could then discover) to go for the *Isle of Wight*, whither he ordered Mr. *Ashburnham* and me to go with these Instructions, by word of mouth, to

The King resolves to go to the Isle of Wight.

the Governour *Hammond,* and return to his Majesty, who went with *Will. Leg* to a house of my Lord *Southampton,* at *Titchfield;* that we should carry him a Copy of the Letter his Majesty left at *Hampton-Court,* and of two Letters sent to him, one from *Cromwell,* the other without a name. *Cromwell's* and the other Letter contained great apprehension and fears of the ill-intentions of the Levelling party in the Army and City against his Majesty; and that from *Cromwell* added, that, in prosecution thereof, a new Guard was the next day to be put upon his Majesty of that party. His Majesty's letter contained his distrust of the disorderly part of the Army, and his necessity thereupon of providing for his own safety, which he would so do as not to desert the interest of the Army: that, in order thereunto, we should let the Governour know, that of all the Army his Majesty had made choice of him to put himself upon, as being a person of good extraction, and one, that, though he had been engaged against him in the war, yet it had been prosecuted by him without any animosity to his person, to which he had been informed he had no aversion: only his Majesty, that he might not surprize him, thought fit to send us before to advertise him, and to desire his promise to protect his Majesty and his servants to the best of his power; and, if it should happen that he might not be able to do it, then the Governour should oblige himself to leave us in as good a condition as he found us, that is, suffer us to make our escape. With these instructions we parted: but, before I had gone ten yards, I returned to his Majesty, and said, I had no knowledge of the Governour, and therefore could not tell whether he might not detain us in the Island; and therefore advised his Majesty, if we came not to him by the next day, that his Majesty should think no more of us, but secure his own escape. His Majesty thanked me for the caution, and pursued his way, and Mr. *Ashburnham* and I ours. The first thing we resolved was, that, since his Majesty went towards the east side of the island, that we would go-on to the west, to a place called *Limington*, where Mr. *Ashburnham* told me there was a short passage over. By the way, I asked Mr. *Ashburnham* if he had any acquaintance with *Hammond* the Governour. He replied, "not very much," yet he had lately had some discourse with him upon the highways near *Kingston*, and found him not very averse to his Majesty; but that which made him conceive the best hopes of him was, the character Mr. *Denham*, and the commendations my Lady *Isabella Thynn* gave of him.

We came to *Limington* that night, but could not pass, by reason of a violent storm that blew.

The next morning we got-over, and had then eight miles to the castle of *Carisbroke,* where the Governour dwelt. We came thither after ten in the morning, and found the Governour was newly gone-out towards *Newport.* When we overtook him, Mr. *Ashburnham* desired me to open the matter to him, which he would afterwards second himself. After I had saluted him, I took him aside, and delivered our message to him word for word. But he grew so pale, and fell into such a trembling, that I did really believe he would have fallen off his horse: which trembling continued with him at least an hour after, in which he broke-out into passionate and distracted expressions, sometimes saying, " O gentlemen! you " have undone me by bringing the King into the " island,—if, at least, you have brought him; " and, if you have not, pray let him not come: " for, what between my duty to his Majesty, and " my gratitude for this fresh obligation of confi- " dence, on the one hand, and my observing my " trust to the army, on the other, I shall be con- " founded." Other while he would talk to a quite contrary purpose. I remember, that, to settle him the better, I said, that, " God be thanked, " there was no harm done; that his Majesty in- " tended a favour to him and his posterity, in " giving him an occasion to lay a great obligation

“ upon him, and such as was very consisting with “ his relation to the army, who had so solemnly “ engaged themselves to his Majesty: but, if he “ thought otherwise, his Majesty would be far “ from imposing his person upon him.” To that he replied, that then, if his Majesty should come to any mischance, what would the army and kingdom say to him, that had refused to receive him? To this I replied, that he did not refuse him, who was not come to him. He returned, that he must needs know where his Majesty was, because he knew where we were. I told him he was never the nearer for my part. He then began a little to sweeten, and to wish that his Majesty would have reposed himself absolutely upon him, because it would have been much the better for both. I then went to Mr. *Ashburnham*, and told him, that this Governour was not a man for our purpose, and that for my part, I would never give my consent that his Majesty should trust him. Mr. *Ashburnham* acknowledged that he did not like him; yet, on the other side, he much feared what would become of his Majesty, if he should be discovered before he had made his point, and made appear what his intention was; for then he would be accused of what his enemies pleased to lay upon him. I replied, that, if we returned not that night, his Majesty would be gone to sea. I perceived Mr. *Ashburnham* liked not that so well, and therefore took the Governour to task apart, and, after some conference, they came both to me; and the Governour said, that, since we desired it, he would say, that, because his Majesty, he believed, had made choice of him, as a person of honour and honesty, to lay this great trust upon, therefore he would not deceive his Majesty's expectation. I replied, that expression was too general, and did not come home to our instructions. He then made many discourses not much to the purpose, during which time he kept himself between Mr. *Ashburnham* and me; and when he found me still unsatisfied, he added, that I was harder to content than Mr. *Ashburnham,* and he did believe that his Majesty would be much easier pleased than either, and thereupon concluded that I should go into the castle, and that Mr. *Ashburnham* should take his horse and go to the King, and tell his Majesty what he said. I embraced the motion most readily, and immediately went over the bridge into the castle, though I had the image of the gallows very perfectly before me. Mr. *Ashburnham* went, I believe, with a better heart to horse; but before he was gone half a flight shot, the Governour (being before the castle-gate,) called to him, and had a conference of at least a quarter of an hour with him, to what purpose I never knew until I came into *Holland*, where a gentleman of good worth and quality told me, that the Governour affirmed afterwards in *London*, and in many places, that he then offered to Mr. *Ashburnham*, that I should go and he should stay, as believing his Majesty to be less willing to expose him than me, but that Mr. *Ashburnham* absolutely refused. Whatever passed between them, I am sure they came both back to me; and the Governour putting himself between us said, that he would say that, which he was sure ought to content any reasonable man, which was, that he did believe his Majesty relied on him, as on a person of honour and honesty, and therefore he did engage himself to us, to perform whatever could be expected from a person of honour and honesty. Before I could make any, Mr. *Ashburnham* made this reply, *I will ask no more.* The Governour then added, let us then all go to the King, and acquaint him with it. Mr. *Ashburnham* answered, with all my heart. I then broke from the Governour, who held me in his hand, and went to Mr. *Ashburnham*, and said, what do you mean, to carry this man to the King before you know whether he will approve of this undertaking or no? undoubtedly you will surprise him. Mr. *Ashburnham* said nothing but, *I'll warrant you:* and so you shall, said I; for you know the King much better than I do, and therefore when we shall come where the King is, I assure you I will not see him before you have satisfied his Majesty concerning your proceeding, Well; he would take that upon him. I then desired he would not let the Governour carry any other person with him, that in all events we might the more easily secure him; which he consented-to. Nevertheless, when we came to *Cows* Castle, where we were to take boat, *Hammond* took *Basket*, (the Governour of that castle) along with him; and, when I complained of it to Mr. *Ashburnham*, he answered, " It was no matter; for that we should be able to do well with them two." When we came to *Titchfield*, my Lord of *Southampton's* House, Mr. *Ashburnham*, according to his promise, went up to the King, and left me below with *Hammond* and *Basket*. I afterwards understood, that when Mr. *Ashburnham* had given an account of our message and the Governour's answer, and came to say that he was come along with us to make good what he had promised, his Majesty struck himself upon the breast, and said, " What! have you " brought *Hammond* with you? O, you have un- " done me; for I am by this means made fast " from stirring." Mr. *Ashburnham* replied, " that, " if he mistrusted *Hammond*, he would undertake

“ to secure him.” His Majesty said, “ I understand you well enough; but the world would “ not excuse me. For if I should follow that “ counsel, it would be said, and believed, that he “ [Hammond] had ventured his life for me, and “ that I had unworthily taken it from him. No, “ it is too late now to think of any thing, but “ going through the way you have forced upon “ me, and to leave the issue to God.” But, when his Majesty began anew to wonder that he could make so great an oversight, Mr. *Ashburnham*, having no more to reply, wept bitterly. In the mean time *Hammond* and *Basket* were so impatient at this long stay below in the court, that I was forced to send a gentleman of my Lord *Southampton*, to desire that his Majesty and Mr. *Ashburnham* would remember that we were below. About half an hour after we were sent-for up; but before *Hammond* and *Basket* kissed his hand, his Majesty took me aside and said, “ Sir *John* “ *Berkley*, I hope you are not so passionate as “ *Jack Ashburnham:* do you think you have followed my directions ?” I answered, “ No, indeed, “ Sir; but it is none of my fault, as Mr. *Ashburn-* “ *ham* can tell you, if he please ; I have exposed “ my life to prevent it.” And then I told his Majesty the sum of what had passed, and particularly of my being a prisoner in the castle, and of Mr. *Ashburnham's* coming away without me; which Mr. *Ashburnham* had omitted. His Majesty judged that it was now too late to boggle, and therefore received *Hammond* cheerfully, who promised more to his Majesty than he had done to us: and we all went over that night to the *Cows.* In the morning his Majesty went with the Governour to *Carisbroke,* and was met in the way, by divers gentlemen of the Island, from whom we learnt, that we were more fortunate than we were aware of; for the whole Island was unanimously for the King, except the Governours of the castles, and *Hammond's* captains; that there were but twelve old men in the castle; and that they had served under the Earl of *Portland,* and were all well-affected; that *Hammond* might be easily gained, if not more easily forced, the castle being day and night full of Loyal subjects and servants of his Majesty; and his Majesty having daily liberty to ride abroad, might chuse his own time of quitting the island. Indeed, not only his Majesty, and all that were about him, but those that were at a further distance approved by their letters, this resolution of his Majesty. Both his Majesty and Mr. *Ashburnham* attackt the Governour, and, I think, very prosperously; for both he and his captains seemed to desire nothing of his Majesty, but that he would send a civil

The King is received into Carisbrook castle by Colonel Hammond, the Governour of it.

message to the Houses, signifying his propension to Peace; which was done to their satisfaction. Three days after our coming to the island, a Messenger was sent by the Parliament, for Mr. *Ashburnham*, Sir *John Berkley*, and Mr. *Leg:* but the Governour refused to let us go. The fifth day after our arrival, we heard that in the rendezvouz of the Army, the superiour officers had carried it, and that one or two soldiers were shot, and eleven more of the mutinying levellers made prisoners. This made us bless God for the resolution of coming into the island: and now Mr. *Ashburnham* and the Governour were frequent and fervent in private conferences, and (as I have heard) came to particulars of accommodation for him, in case of the King's recovery: Insomuch that now the Governour seemed sollicitous of nothing so much, as that the Army should resume its wonted discipline, and clear themselves of their importunate and impertinent Adjutators, of whose authority in the Army he had never approved; and therefore he sent his Chaplain immediately to the Army, to conjure the superiour officers to make use of their success upon the Adjutators. Two or three days after, he moved earnestly, that his Majesty would send one of us three to the Army with colourable letters to the General; but that he should write with confidence to *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, to whom

At the rendezvous of the Army the superiour officers quell the mutiny of the Levellers. Nov. 13, 1647.

he [the Governour] would also write: and he did accordingly write to them, conjuring them by their engagement, by their interest, by their honour, and their consciences, to come to a speedy close with the King, and not to expose themselves still to the fantastick giddiness of the Adjutators. My two comrades were very well contented, that I should go this voyage; which I did not without some apprehension of the event, as to my own particular. His Majesty charged me to require *Will. Ashburnham,* to provide a ship for him, upon the coast of *Sussex:* But Mr. *Ashburnham* thought not fit, that I should be furnished with money for that, or for my journey. I desired that, in case the Army should not intend well, I might have commission to the *Scots;* but Mr. *Ashburnham* did not think it fit. I then took a Cousin-German of mine with me, one Mr. *Henry Berkley,* son to Sir *Henry Berkley,* and procured a pass from the Governour of the *Cows,* for his return within four or five days; which had been otherwise forgotten. Between *Bagshot* and *Windsor,* (then the head-quarters) I met *Traughton,* the Governour's Chaplain, who told me he could carry no good news back, the Army being as yet come to no resolution as to the King. As I was half-way between *Bagshot* and *Windsor,* Cornet *Joyce* (a great Adjutator, and he that had taken

Sir John Berkley carries letters from the King to Sir Thomas Fairfax, (the General of the Army,) and to Cromwell and Ireton.

the King from *Holmby,*) overtook me. He seemed much to wonder that I durst adventure to come to the Army. Upon my discourses with him, I found, that it had been discoursed among the Adjutators, "whether, for their justification, the King ought not to be brought to a trial;" which he held in the affirmative: not (he said) that he would have one hair of his head to suffer, but that they might not bear the blame of the War. I was quickly weary of his discourse; but I perceived he would not leave me, until he saw me in *Windsor,* and knew where I lodged. About an hour after, I went to the General's quarters, and found a general meeting of the officers there. After an hour's waiting I was admitted, and, after I had delivered my compliment, and letters to the General, I was desired to withdraw; and having attended half an hour, I was called-in. The General looked very severely upon me, and, after his manner, said, "That they were the Parliament's "Army, and therefore could not say any thing to "his Majesty's motion of peace, but must refer "those matters to them; to whom they would "send his Majesty's Letters." I then looked about, upon *Cromwell* and *Ireton,* and the rest of my acquaintance; who saluted me very coldly, and had their countenances quite changed towards me, and shewed me *Hammond's* letter, which I had

And is coldly received by them.

delivered to them, and smiled with much disdain upon it. I saw that *that* was no place for me, and therefore went to my lodging; where I staid from four until six, and none of my acquaintance came to me; which appeared sad enough. At last I sent my servant out, and wished him to see if he could light upon any of my acquaintance. At last he met with one that was a General Officer, who whispered in his ear, and bad him tell me, that he would meet me at twelve at night, in a Close, behind the *Garter* Inn. I came at the hour, and he not long after. I asked him what news? and, he replied, "None good;" and then continued this discourse. "You know, that I and " my friend engaged ourselves to you; that we " were zealous for an Agreement. And, if the " rest were not so, we were abused; that, if there " was an intention to cozen us, it would not be " long hid from us; that, whatever we should discover, should not be secret to you; that we, " since the tumults of the Army, did mistrust " *Cromwell*; and, not long after, *Ireton*; whereof " I informed you. I come now to tell you, that " we mistrust neither; but know them, and all of " us, to be the archest villains in the world. For " we are resolved, notwithstanding our engagements, to destroy the King and his Posterity; " to which end *Ireton* made two Propositions,

Notwithstanding the suppression of the late mutiny at the Rendezvous of the Army, the Levelling Party soon afterwards prevails, and Cromwell and Ireton comply with them, and resolve to destroy the King.

" this afternoon; one, that you should be sent " prisoner to *London;* the other, that none should " speak with you upon pain of death: and I do " hazard my life now by doing of it. The way " that is intended to ruin the King, is to send " eight hundred, of the most disaffected of the " Army, to secure his person, (as believing him " not so now,) and then bring him to a trial; and " I dare think no farther. This will be done in " ten days; and, therefore, if the King can escape, " let him do it, as he loves his life."

I then inquired what was the reason of this horrid change; what had the King done to deserve it: He said, "Nothing; and that to our grief: for, we would leap for joy, if we could have any advantage against him. I have pleaded hard against this Resolution this day; but have been laughed-at for my pains." I then said, "Well, but still, why is this horrid perfidiousness resolved-on, since there appears no occasion for it, the officers being superiour at the rendezvous?" He answered, " that he could not tell certainly; but he con- " ceived this to be the ground of it: That, though " one of the Mutineers was shot at the late Ren- " dezvous, and eleven made prisoners, and the " rest, in appearance, overquelled, yet they were N. B. " so far from being so indeed, that there have " been with *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, one after

" another, two third parts of the Army to tell
" them, that, though they were certainly to perish
" in the attempt, they would leave nothing unes-
" sayed, to bring the Army to their sense; and, if
" all failed, they would make a division in the
" Army, and join with any that would assist in
" the destruction of their opposers. *Cromwell*
" and *Ireton*, therefore, argued thus; If the Army
" divide, the greatest part will join with the
" Presbyterians, and will, in all likelihood, prevail
" to our ruin; and we shall be forced to make
" applications to the King, wherein we shall
" rather crave than offer any assistance; and,
" when his Majesty shall give it us, and after-
" wards have the good fortune to prevail, if he
" shall then pardon us, it is all we can pretend-to,
" and more than we can promise ourselves; and,
" thereupon, concluded, ' That, if we cannot
" bring the Army to our sense, we must go to
" theirs; a schism being evidently destructive.'
" And, therefore, *Cromwell* bent all his thoughts
" to make his peace with the Party that was most
" opposite to the King; in which *Peters* was in-
" strumental. He then acknowledged, (as he had
" formerly done, upon the like occasion) that the
" Glories of the World had so dazzled his eyes,
" that he could not discern clearly the great
" Works the Lord was doing; and said, that he

"was now resolved to humble himself, and desire "the prayers of the Saints, that God would be "pleased to forgive him his Self-seeking. These "Arts, together with comfortable messages to "the prisoners (that they should be of good cheer; "for no harm should befall them, since it had "pleased God to open his eyes)—perfected his "Reconciliation; and he was re-instated in the "Fellowship of the Faithful." I then asked this Gentleman, whether I should not endeavour to deliver my letters from the King to *Cromwell* and *Ireton*: he replied, "By all means, lest they should mistrust that I had discovered them."

As soon as I came to my lodging, I dispatched my cousin, *Harry Berkley*, to the Isle of *Wight*, with two letters; the one containing a general relation and doubtful judgement of things in the Army, which I intended should be shewn to the Governour; the other was in cypher, wherein I gave a particular account of this conference, naming the person, and concluding with a most passionate supplication to his Majesty, to meditate nothing but his immediate escape. The next morning I sent Colonel *Cook* to *Cromwell*, to let him know that I had letters and instructions to him from the King. He sent me word, by the same messenger, that he durst not see me, it being very dangerous to us both, and bid me be assured, that he would serve his Majesty as long as he could do it without his own ruin; but desired that I would not expect that *he* should perish for his sake. As soon as I had this answer, I took horse for *London*, with this resolution, "not to acquaint any man with the intentions of the Army, nor of his Majesty's intended escape;" which I presumed would be within few days, the wind serving, and the Queen having sent a ship to that purpose, and pressed it earnestly by her letters. The next day, after my arrival at *London*, I had a letter from my Lord *Lanerick*, and Lord *Lauderdale*, desiring a meeting with me, as presuming I had a Commission to treat with them from his Majesty. At our meeting they wondered to find the contrary. In my discourse with them, I happened to say, The last words his Majesty said to me, at parting, were, "That whatever I "should undertake, to any person, in his name, "his Majesty would make it good on the word of "a King." My Lord *Lanerick*, thereupon, replied, "that he would ask no more Commission for me; "believing it to be true, both, because I affirmed "it, and because he had received the like from "his Majesty, upon the like occasion." Our first conference was interrupted through my Lord *Lauderdale's* vehement indignation against the letter of Mr. *Ashburnham* to the Speaker, wherein he had this passage, *That he would not expose his Honour to the discretion of either Scot or Adjutator.* This letter was written by Mr. *Ashburnham,* before I left the island, upon the occasion of *Whalley's* complaint to the House of Commons, that Mr. *Ashburnham* had broken his engagement with him at his first coming to *Wooburn,* wherein he undertook that the King should not leave the Army without his knowledge and consent.* Dr. *Sheldon,* Dr. *Hammond,* Mr. *Leg* and I, objected hard against this expression; but Mr. *Ashburnham* liked it so well, that we could not make him depart from it. On the *Friday* after, we had another meeting, wherein we discoursed ourselves well towards an Agreement, and resolved, on *Monday* following, to conclude one way or other. The next day, being *Saturday,* I had a letter from Mr. *Ashburnham,* requiring me, in his Majesty's name, to lay-by all other business whatsoever, and return instantly to his Majesty. I sent, therefore, my excuse to my Lords *Lanerick* and *Lauderdale*, and went that night out of town: which they took very ill, though they had no reason for it; for I would as willingly have excused my journey as they, as believing it was only to assist in his Majesty's escape: for I had more than once observed, that, though Mr. *Ashburnham* were willing enough to appropriate employments of honour and profit, yet he was contented to communicate those of danger with his friends. The next morning I was with his Majesty, who received me more graciously than ordinary, and told me that he had always a good opinion of my honesty and discretion, but was never so much confirmed in it, as by my dispatch from *Windsor;* for which his Majesty thanked me. After I had returned my acknowledgements for his Majesty's favour, I asked if his Majesty approved the advice so well, why did he not follow it? Why was he still in the Island? where he could not long promise himself the liberty he now had, since there were forces designed, both by sea and land, to secure his person. His Majesty replied, that he would have a care of that time enough, and that he was to conclude with the *Scots* before he left the Kingdom, because from their desire to have him out of the Army's hands, they would listen to reason; whereas, if he went away before, they would never treat with him but upon their own terms: and in this opinion Mr. *Ashburnham* fully concurred with his Majesty. Against this, I argued the best I could; and, when I saw it was in vain, I desired his Majesty would dispach this Treaty; for that his condition would admit no delays. His Majesty then ordered me to withdraw with Mr. *Ashburnham,* Dr. *Sheldon,* Dr. *Hammond,* and Mr. *Leg,* to see how far his Majesty had gone in a Treaty with the *Scots.* This Treaty had been managed in *London* by Dr. *Gough,* who, in the Queen's name, conjured his Majesty to make his speedy escape, in all his letters, and in his own name, beseeched his Majesty not to insist upon nice terms in this present exigence of his affairs. But Mr. *Ashburnham* refined much upon several expressions of the Articles, that concerned the Covenant, and Church of *England,* (of which he was a great Professor,) and made many replies and alterations, and moved, that messenger be sent after messenger about it, and at last insisted, that the King should send for the *Scots* Commissioners to come to him. The next day I fell sick, what with my late journeying, and what with my vexation at this slow way of proceeding. The day following I went to his Majesty, and, as soon as I could be admitted, spoke to him in these words:

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* *Whalley's complaint to the House of Commons that* Mr. Ashburnham had broken his engagement with him *at his first coming to Wooburn, wherein he undertook that the King should not leave the Army without his knowledge and consent.*] "But for some "fifteen weeks I had Mr. Ashburnham's engagement for the "King's safe abiding with me. And truly I must do him so "much right as to declare that he dealt honestly and like a "gentleman with me. For about three weeks ago he came to "me, and *minded me of his engagement, which was to continue no "longer than he gave me warning; which he told me that he now "did.*" Colonel Whalley's Letter to the Speaker of the House of Commons.

Sir, if you make no more haste than you do, I doubt you will not be able to secure your escape; and, therefore, I humbly beseech your Majesty to make two Papers or Draughts, the one containing the utmost extent of what your Majesty will give the Scots, *and sign it; and, at the same time, send another, containing the least you will receive of them, and let the* Scots *sign, and deliver that to Dr.* Gough, *at the same time that he shall deliver your Majesty's concessions to them, and provide instantly for your safety.* About the middle of this discourse with the King, Mr. *Ashburnham* came-in; and when I had ended, very graciously smiling, said, "That this Proposition would be "good, if it were practicable; which it was not: "for, though the *Scots* should agree to the substance of all the Articles, yet they, and all men "else, would have their several senses concerning "the expressions; which must be satisfied, or no "Agreement could be made: and, therefore he "concluded, that the *Scots* were to be sent-for." To this I replied, "that Mr. *Ashburnham* had reason, ordinarily speaking, for what he objected; but that his Majesty's danger made this a very extraordinary case." His reasons carried it clear, and Sir *William Flemming*, or Mr. *Mungo Murray*, (for they both went and came by turns) was sent to invite the *Scots* Commissioners to come to his

Majesty. The next day, after his departure, in the evening, the King called me to him, and told me, "I think you are a Prophet; for the *Scots* "Commissioners at *London* have sent an express, "desiring me to do the same thing, in effect, as "you had moved; but that it was now too late: "for they would be come-away, before another "express could be gone out of the island towards "them." I replied, that our concurrence was accidental; for I had not the least intelligence with the *Scots* Commissioners: but, when I saw there was no remedy, I applied myself to what was the next best, I could. And, God knows, there was work enough for abler men than any of us were: for, at the same time that they, the *Scots* were coming to the King, there were also Commissioners sent by the Parliament to his Majesty, with offers of a Treaty, upon condition that his Majesty, as a pledge of his future sincerity, would grant four Preliminary Bills, which they had brought ready-drawn to his Majesty's hands. The First contained the Revocation of all Proclamations and Declarations against the Parliament; wherein his Majesty made himself expressly the author of the war. The Second, was, against the Lords that had been lately made by his Majesty; that they should have no seat, or vote, in Parliament: and that neither his Majesty, nor his

The Parliament sends Commissioners to the King, offering to treat with him about his restoration, provided he will consent previously to pass four bills which they present to him. November 26, 1647.

successors should make any Lords for the future, without consent of Parliament; which was to take-away the most unquestioned flower of his Crown, that of his being the sole fountain of Honour. The Third, was a Bill of exceptions from pardon, that included almost all of his Majesty's subjects that had any considerable estates. The Fourth, was an Act for the Militia, which embraced ten times more power than the Crown ever exercised, for the two Houses, raising men and money arbitrarily; which was neither more nor less than dethroning of the King, and enslaving the people by a law, and, in effect, to give the King only the leave to discourse whose the glass windows should be. Nevertheless, the Title and Frontispiece of this vast design, was so modest, that many well-wishing persons were induced to believe, that, by all means, his Majesty ought to pass those Bills for many reasons; but especially, because his enemies would deliver his Majesty to the World, as obstinate to his own and the Kingdom's ruin, if he should not accept this offer. To avoid both the inconveniences of granting or refusing, I drew an answer of the Treaty before it began; That, if they would needs think it expedient to require so great hostages from his Majesty, they would not be backward to give some token to his Majesty of their reality, and then desired, at the same time, his Majesty should pass these four Bills, the Houses would pass four of his Majesty's drawing, which were all most popular, and such as they durst not pass, nor well deny: at least, if they did, they could with no colour of justice accuse his Majesty for not granting what was most unjust and most unpopular. The First, was a Bill, for payment of the Army, which contained their disbanding, as soon as they were paid. The Second, a period to the present Parliament. The Third, for restoring the King, Queen, and Royal Family, to their revenues. The Fourth, the settling of the Church-government without any co-ercive power; and, in the mean-time, till such a Government were agreed-on, the old one to stand, without co-ercive authority. I shewed this answer first to Mr. *Leg*, then to Dr. *Hammond* and Dr. *Sheldon*, who seemed to approve of the Expedient, and desired Mr. *Ashburnham* would acquaint the King with it. But I never heard any thing from his Majesty; and I was resolved never to have it obtruded, lest I should appear fond of my own conceptions. By his Majesty's directions, an Answer was drawn, that gave a full denial; which was, in my judgement, very well penned. But I thought good penning did not signify much at that time, and therefore made this objection: It is very possible, that upon his Majesty's giving an absolute Negative, the Commissioners may have orders, to enjoin the Governour to look more strictly to his person; and so his intended escape would be prevented. His Majesty replied immediately, That he had thought of a remedy, which was, to deliver his Answer, sealed, to the Commissioners; and so left us. I could not hold from letting Mr. *Ashburnham* find my sense of this sorry expedient, by saying, that the Commissioners would either open the Answer, or conclude that, in effect, it was a denial, and proceed accordingly: but all was in vain. Some few days after, the *English* Commissioners arrived and delivered their message, and desired an Answer within three or four days. The next day, the Lords *Lowdon, Lanerick, Lauderdale, Chiesly,* and others, Commissioners for the Kingdom of *Scotland,* delivered a Protestation to the King, subscribed by them, against the message, as not according with their Covenant. From that time they began to treat seriously with his Majesty, but would not permit, that either Mr. *Ashburnham* or I should assist at the Treaty: for which I forgive them with all my heart; for it would have been very insecure for us to have had any communication with them at that time. At last, they came to such a conclusion, as they could get; not such a one as they desired from

The English Commissioners present the four Bills to the King December 24, 1647.

The Scottish Commissioners treat also with the King; but his answers to them do not give them satisfaction.

the King, but much short of it: which gave an advantage to the Lord *Argyle,* and the Clergy-party in *Scotland,* to oppose it, as not satisfactory: and, by that means, retarded the proceeding of Duke *Hamilton,* and that army, four months: Which was, consequently, the ruin of *Langhorn* in *Wales,* and of the forces in *Kent* and *Essex,* and of the *Scots* Army also, which consisted of twenty-four thousand men; all which forces were the result of the Treaty; which appears to me, if it had been sooner dispatched, to have been one of the most prudent Acts of his Majesty's Reign, however unprosperous. When the time was come, that the King was to deliver his Answer, his Majesty sent for the English Commissioners, and, before he delivered his Answer, asked my Lord *Denbigh* (who was the Chief Commissioner,) whether they had power to alter any substantial, or circumstantial, part of their Message; and, when they replied, "that they had not," his Majesty delivered his Answer to the Lord *Denbigh* sealed. After they had withdrawn a while, my Lord *Denbigh* returned with the rest, and seemed offended with his Majesty for delivering the Message sealed, and expressed his indignation in harsher terms than one Gentleman ought to use to another. After long expostulations, his Majesty was persuaded to open his Answer;

The King refuses to consent to the four Bills presented to him by the Commissioners of the Parliament. December 28, 1647.

which was so far from allaying the storm, that it increased it both in the Commissioners and the Governour, who, all together, retired from the Castle of *Carisbrook* to *Newport*, an English mile from the Castle. As soon as they were gone, I went to Mr. *Ashburnham*, who told me, he had newly dispatched-away a footman over the water, to order four or five horses to be removed from the place where they then stood, lest they should be found and seized by the soldiers, that were coming into the Island. I conjured him by no means to do it, lest the winds or the Parliament's frigates, might force us, in our escape, and we should want horses. He, thereupon, sent a groom after him, and brought him back; but within few hours after, sent him again with the first order; but upon what ground I know not, unless that of good husbandry. That night, or the next morning, his Majesty resolved to endeavour his escape; but he met with two great obstacles: the Wind in the very instant became cross, and the Governour returned from *Newport* full of fury, and locked-up the gates, and doubled his guards, and went not to bed that night. In the morning he commanded all his Majesty's servants from him. Before we took our leaves, we acquainted his Majesty, that we had left the Captain of the Frigate, and two honest and trusty Gentlemen

In consequence of this refusal, Colonel Hammond doubles the guards upon the King.

of the Island, to assist his escape, and that we would have all things in readiness on the other side of the water. His Majesty commanded us to draw a Declaration in his name that night, and send it to his Majesty in the morning, when we came to Newport. *Will. Leg* and I left Mr. *Ashburnham* and the rest in the Inn, and went to an acquaintance's house of ours in the town; where, after we had staid an hour, we heard a drum beat confusedly; and, not long after that, one Captain *Burley*, with divers others, were risen to rescue the King. Upon this Mr. *Leg* and I went to the Inn, where we found Mr. *Ashburnham* making speeches to those poor well-affected People, advising them to desist from their vain Enterprize. I must confess I thought any communication of ours with them dangerous, and therefore I advised Mr. *Ashburnham* not to say any thing to them; for, when his words were out of his mouth, others would interpret them, and say he said what they pleased. And it was well for him and us that we did so; for the prisoners were not only examined concerning us, but were promised Liberty and Pardon in case they would accuse us; and the Governour of the *Cows* had order from *Hammond* to put us on ship-board, and to carry us to *London*, upon suspicion that we were accessary to this Rising; which was a design so impossible for those that under-took it to effect, (they consisting chiefly of women and children, without any arms, saving one musket,) that no sober man could possibly have been engaged in it. I was desired, that night, to draw the Declaration for his Majesty; which I did, and it was approved-of by all but Mr. *Ashburnham*, and at last published in his Majesty's Name. After we had staid, on the other side of the water, about three weeks, expecting the King's coming over to us, and began at last to despair of it, I moved to Mr. *Ashburnham*, Mr. *Leg*, and Mr. *Denham* (who was then come to us from *London*,) that some one might be sent to the Queen from us all; which was consented-to, and I was made choice-of by the rest to go on that business.

VII.

Of Salmonet, and his "Histoire des Troubles d'Angleterre."

In justice to Salmonet, as well as for the sake of Ashburnham, a few brief notices and remarks on the historian and his history must not here be omitted.

Menteith de Salmonet must have been, according to Dr. Johnson's definition, "a very sturdy "moralist indeed."* He was a Scotchman; and he knew that Ashburnham had the reputation (as lord Clarendon asserts) of "detesting the Scotch." This appears from the observation annexed to his translation of a passage in Berkeley's Memoirs. "La lettre d'Ashburnham, outre ces paroles por-"toit encore celles-cy, qui pouvoient en vérité "irriter les Ecossois;—*qu'il n'exposeroit pas sa* "*vie et son honneur ni pour l'Ecossois, ny pour* "*l'Agitateur*. Ces termes estoient esgalement "impertinens et injurieux; et c'estoit une horrible "imprudence en Ashburnham, dans la déplorable

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* "A Scotchman must be a very sturdy moralist indeed, "who does not love Scotland better than truth." Tour to the Hebrides.

“ conjuncture des affaires du Roy, de vouloir de “ gayété de cœur choquer toute une nation, qui “ estoit seule capable de les remettre dans leur “ premier estât.”

Menteith de Salmonet was an ecclesiastic of the Romish persuasion; and he had learnt from Berkeley's Memoirs, if he had been otherwise ignorant of it, the fact which he has himself thus stated;—“ mais Ashburnham vouloit faire paroitre “ son zéle pour la chose, qu'il appelloit l'Eglise “ Anglicane.” This knowledge of Ashburnham's sentiments and principles was not likely to make a very favourable impression either on the Scotchman, or the Churchman. On the contrary Salmonet very strongly, as naturally, expresses far other feelings.

Finally Menteith de Salmonet was attached to, and patronized by the celebrated Cardinal Retz, to whom he has dedicated his Histoire des Troubles d'Angleterre. Hence there can be no doubt that the information which he obtained of the passing events in England, and of the persons principally engaged in them must have been tinctured with all the partialities and prejudices of the queen and of her court;* where Ashburnham had found as little favour, as lord Clarendon could ever have expected to find respect. That such were his intimacies and connections may be fairly inferred from his having been favoured with the communication of Berkeley's Memoirs; which he has very exactly translated. Yet, whenever he discovers sir John departing from truth, he ceases to follow sir John. Thus, where we find in the original, (whether wittingly or not inserted,) that falsity of Col. Whalley's having *complained* in his letter to the Speaker that "*Mr. Ashburnham* "*had broken his engagement with him, &c.*" the truth is substituted in the translation. For Salmonet says—"Qually avoit escrit à la chambre "qu' Ashburnham ayant engagé sa parole à Woo-"burne, que S. M. ne quitteroit pas l'armée à son "inscu, *il l'avoit retiré, par ordre de S. M.,* "*quelques jour devant sa retraite :* et lui avoit dit "pour raison qu'il voyoit qu'on ne parloit plus "qu' Ecossois à la cour depuis quelque temps."

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* “ Mr. Ashburnham having found upon his address to the “ queen at Paris, on his first arrival, that his abode at some “ other place would not be ungrateful to her majesty, removed

Here then is another strong instance in proof that Salmonet, Scotchman as he was, did not prefer Scotland to truth. But that, which above all shews how conscientiously, scrupulously, and fearlessly he acted up to the sentiment, which

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"to Rouen: where he had the society of many, who had served "the king in the most eminent qualifications." Clarendon's History, vol. v. p. 448.

the most authentic of all historians only professed, —"Ut nequid falsi dicere audeat, nequid veri "non audeat," is his reflection after having related the manner, in which the king became Hammond's prisoner.

"Ce n'est pas qu' Ashburnham manquat ni de "tendresse pour la personne du Roi, ni de zéle "pour le service de sa Majesté: ayant toujours "été reconnu pour l'un de ses plus fideles et plus "passionés serviteurs. Mais il croyoit que les "affaires du Roi seroient entièrement ruinés, s'il "quittoit le royaume devant de conclure avec les "confédérés d'Ecosse, et de tirer quelques avantages des désordres de l'armée. Et comme il ne "voyoit cependant aucune retraite plus assurée "que dans l'Isle de Wight, il esperoit que le "Gouverneur feroit les choses, qu'on désiroit de "lui, de meilleure grace qu'il ne les avoit promises, "et qu'il ny auroit aucune risque à courir pour sa "Majesté."

How different is this from lord Clarendon's worse than "most lame and impotent conclusion!" In which he indirectly pronounces Ashburnham not guilty of the charges, which he himself has directly brought against him. It is impossible that they should bow to this hypothetical acquittal raised on an unreal basis of imaginary compulsion,* who believe but a tithe of the pretended † facts so circumstantially detailed, so peremptorily affirmed, and so magisterially promulgated. It is equally impossible that the noble historian can ever have meant either that his readers should adopt his opinion, or reject his statement.

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* "If I were obliged to deliver my own opinion I should "declare that, &c." *If I were* implies that, in point of fact, *I am not* obliged to deliver my own opinion. If then I *am not* so obliged, I *do not* declare that, which I *should* only declare, *if* I *were* so obliged.

† For these pretended facts briefly recapitulated, see Vindication, vol. i. p. 384.

VIII.

Lord Clarendon's Characters of those illustrious and eminent Persons with whose esteem and friendship John Ashburnham is known to have been honoured; and to which reference has been given in the Biographical Notices at page 15 *of this volume.*

Bishop Warburton says in a note (vol. iii. p. 549 of the History of the Rebellion) that—" Nothing " can give one a higher idea of the virtue and " integrity of this great historian (as well as of " his incomparable eloquence) than his characters." For the latter part more especially of this just eulogium, (though given in a parenthesis) who can refuse, or hesitate to assent?

Perhaps it may be said, that the peculiar excellence, which distinguishes lord Clarendon from other historians, is similar to that, which has secured to Vandyke his high rank, so deservedly held among painters. Were the one to be deprived of his characters, and the other of his portraits, there would be, respectively, in either graduated scale of comparative merit a fall, equal to that of the quicksilver in a thermometer from "summer heat" to "temperate."

THE MARQUIS OF HERTFORD.

Hist. vol. iii. p. 540. "The marquis of Hertford was a man of great "honour and fortune, and interest in the affection "of the people; and had always undergone hard "measure from the court, where he long received "no countenance, and had no design of making "advantage from it. For, though he was a man "of very good parts, and conversant in books, "both in the Latin and Greek languages, and of "a clear courage, of which he had given frequent "evidence; yet he was so wholly given up to a "country life, where he lived in splendour, that "he had an aversion, and even an unaptness, for "business: besides his particular friendship with "the earl of Essex, whose sister he had married, "his greatest acquaintance and conversation had "been with those who had the reputation of being "best affected to the liberty of the kingdom, and "least in love with the humour of the court; "many of whom were the chief of those who engaged themselves most factiously and furiously "against the king. But as soon as he discerned "their violent purposes against the government "established, before he suspected their blacker "designs, he severed himself from them; and, "from the beginning of the parliament, never "concurred with them in any one vote disho- "nourable to the king, or in the prosecution of "the earl of Strafford. He did accept the go- "vernment of the prince of Wales, as is mentioned "before, purely out of obedience to the king; and, "no doubt, it was a great service; though for the "performance of the office of a governor he never "thought himself fit, nor meddled with it. He "left York, as is remembered, to form an army "for the king in the west, where his interest was; "but he found those parts so corrupted, and an "army from the parliament was poured down so "soon upon him, that there was nothing for the "present to be done worthy of his presence; so "that he sent the small party, that was with him, "farther west to Cornwall; where, by degrees, "they grew able to raise an army, with which "they joined with him afterwards again; and "himself returned to the king at Oxford, about "the time when the treaty begun."

Hist. vol. ii. p. 244.

"The marquis of Hertford was a man of great "honour, interest, and estate, and of an universal "esteem over the whole kingdom; and though "he had received many and continued disobliga- "tions from the court, from the time of this king's "coming to the crown, as well as during the "reign of king James, in both which seasons,

" more than ordinary care had been taken to dis-" countenance and lessen his interest ; yet he had " carried himself with notable steadiness, from " the beginning of the parliament, in the support " and defence of the king's power and dignity, " notwithstanding all his allies, and those with " whom he had the greatest familiarity and friend-" ship, were of the opposite party ; and never " concurred with them against the earl of Straf-" ford, whom he was known not to love, nor in " any other extravagancy.

" And then, he was not to be shaken in his " affection to the government of the church ; " though it was enough known that he was in no " degree biassed to any great inclination to the " person of any churchman. And with all this, " that party carried themselves towards him with " profound respect, not presuming to venture their " own credit in endeavouring to lessen his."

THE EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON.

Hist. vol. iii. p.541. " The earl of Southampton was indeed a great " man in all respects, and brought very much re-" putation to the king's cause. He was of a " nature much inclined to melancholy, and being " born a younger brother, and his father and his " elder brother dying upon the point together, " whilst he was but a boy, he was at first much

“ troubled to be called *my lord*, and with the “ noise of attendance; so much he then delighted “ to be alone. He had a great spirit; he had “ never had any conversation in the court, nor “ obligation to it. On the contrary, he had undergone some hardship from it; which made it “ believed, that he would have been ready to have “ taken all occasions of being severe towards it. “ And therefore, in the beginning of the parliament, no man was more courted by the managers “ of those designs. He had great dislike of the “ high courses, which had been taken in the government, and a particular prejudice to the earl “ of Strafford, for some exorbitant proceedings. “ But, as soon as he saw the ways of reverence “ and duty towards the king declined, and the “ prosecution of the earl of Strafford to exceed “ the limits of justice, he opposed them vigorously “ in all their proceedings. He was a man of great “ sharpness of judgment, a very quick apprehension, and that readiness of expression upon any “ sudden debate, that no man delivered himself “ more advantageously and weightily, and more “ efficaciously with the hearers; so that no man “ gave them more trouble in his opposition, or “ drew so many to a concurrence with him in “ opinion. He had no relation to, or dependence “ upon, the court, or purpose to have any; but

“ wholly pursued the public interest. It was long “ before he could be prevailed with to be a counsellor, and longer before he would be admitted “ to be of the bedchamber; and received both “ honours the rather, because, after he had refused to take a protestation, which both houses “ had ordered to be taken by all their members, “ they had likewise voted, ‘ that no man should “ ‘ be capable of any preferment in church or “ ‘ state, who refused to take the same;’ and he “ would shew how much he contemned those “ votes. He went with the king to York; was “ most solicitous, as hath been said, for the offer “ of peace at Nottingham; and was with him at “ Edge-hill; and came and stayed with him at “ Oxford to the end of the war, taking all opportunities to advance all motions towards peace; “ and, as no man was more punctual in performing his own duty, so no man had more melancholy apprehensions of the issue of the war; “ which is all shall be said of him in this place, “ there being frequent occasions to mention him, “ in the continuance of this discourse.”

THE LORD COLEPEPPER.

Hist. vol. ii. p. 93.

“ The house of commons being at this time “ without any member, who, having relation to “ the king's service, would express any zeal for it,

“ and could take upon him to say to others, whom
“ he would trust, what the king desired, or to
“ whom they who wished well could resort for
“ advice and direction; so that whilst there was
“ a strong conjunction and combination to disturb
“ the government by depraving it, whatever was
“ said or done to support it, was as if it were
“ done by chance, and by the private dictates of
“ the reason of private men; the king resolved to
“ call the lord Falkland, and sir John Colepepper,
“ who was knight of the shire for Kent, to his
“ council; and to make the former secretary of
“ state in the place of Vane, that had been kept
“ vacant; and the latter chancellor of the exche-
“ quer, which office the lord Cottington had re-
“ signed, that Mr. Pym might be put into it, when
“ the earl of Bedford should have been treasurer,
“ as is mentioned before. They were both of
“ great authority in the house; neither of them
“ of any relation to the court; and therefore what
“ they said made the more impression; and they
“ were frequent speakers. The lord Falkland was
“ wonderfully beloved by all who knew him, as a
“ man of excellent parts, of a wit so sharp, and a
“ nature so sincere, that nothing could be more
“ lovely. The other was generally esteemed as a
“ good speaker, being a man of an universal un-
“ derstanding, a quick comprehension, a wonderful

"memory, who commonly spoke at the end of "the debate; when he would recollect all that "had been said of weight on all sides with great "exactness, and express his own sense with much "clearness, and such an application to the house, "that no man more gathered a general concur"rence to his opinion than he; which was the "more notable, because his person, and manner "of speaking, were ungracious enough; so that "he prevailed only by the strength of his reason, "which was enforced with confidence enough."

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Hist. vol. ii. p. 140. "The king about this time, having found the "inconvenience and mischief to himself of having "no servant of interest and reputation, and who "took his business to heart, in the house of com"mons, had made the lord Falkland and sir John "Colepepper, both members of that house, and "of unblemished reputations and confessed abili"ties, of his privy council; and the one, the lord "Falkland, his principal secretary of state, and sir "John Colepepper, chancellor of the exchequer; "as is said before. And so, having now gotten "two counsellors about him, who durst trust one "another, and who were both fit to be trusted by "him, which he had been without above a year "past, to his and the kingdom's irreparable dis"advantage; he thought fit to publish a declara-

" tion to all his subjects, in answer to the remon-
" strance he had lately received from the house of
" commons, and was dispersed throughout the
" kingdom."

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" The lord Colepepper was a man of great " parts, a very sharp and present wit, and an universal understanding; so that few men filled a " place in council with more sufficiency, or expressed themselves upon any subject that occurred with more weight and vigour. He had " been trusted by the late king (who had a singular opinion of his courage and other abilities) " to wait upon the prince when he left his father, " and continued still afterwards with him, or in " his service, and in a good correspondence with " the chancellor." Life, vol. i. p. 319.

SECRETARY SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS.

" Secretary Nicholas was a very honest and " industrious man, and always versed in business; " which few of the others were, or had been. " After some time spent in the university of Oxford, and then in the Middle Temple, he lived " some years in France; and was afterwards " secretary to the lord Zouch, who was a privy-" counsellor, and warden of the cinque ports; " and thereby he understood all that jurisdiction, Hist. vol. iii. p. 449.

" which is very great, and exclusive to the admi-
" ral. And when that lord, many years after,
" surrendered that office to the king, to the end
" that it might be conferred upon the duke of
" Buckingham, his secretary was likewise pre-
" ferred with the office; and so, in a short time,
" became secretary of the admiralty, as well as of
" the cinque ports; and was entirely trusted and
" esteemed by that great favourite. After his
" death, he continued in the same place, whilst
" the office was in commission, and was then
" made clerk of the council, from whence the
" king called him to be secretary of state, after
" secretary Windebank fled the kingdom; upon
" his majesty's own observation of his virtue and
" fidelity, and without any other recommenda-
" tion: and he was in truth, throughout his whole
" life, a person of very good reputation, and of
" singular integrity."

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Life, vol. i. p. 319. " Secretary Nicholas was a man of general good
" reputation with all men, of unquestionable in-
" tegrity and long experience in the service of the
" crown; whom the late king trusted as much as
" any man to his death. He was one of those
" who were excepted by the parliament from
" pardon or composition, and so was compelled
" to leave the kingdom shortly after Oxford was

"delivered up, when the king was in the hands "of the Scots. The present king continued him "in the office of secretary of state, which he had "so long held under his father. He was a man "of great gravity, and without any ambitious or "private designs; and had so fast a friendship "with the chancellor for many years, that he was "very well content, and without any jealousy for "his making many despatches and other transac-"tions, which more immediately related to his "office, and which indeed were always made with "his privity and concurrence."

SIR PHILIP WARWICK,

[Member for the town of Radnor was disabled by the same vote, which on the 5th of February, 1643, declared his "friend, Mr. Ashburnham" incapable of sitting in parliament, "for being in "the king's quarters, and adhering to that "party."]

For the right understanding of the following eulogium it is necessary to transcribe some portion of the preliminary matter, from lord Clarendon's Life.]

"Hereupon the king one day called the chan-"cellor to him, and told him, 'that he must "'speak with him in a business of great confi- **Life, vol. iii. p. 27.**

" 'dence, and which required great secrecy;' and " then enlarged in a great commendation of the " treasurer,* (whom in truth he did very much " esteem,) ' of his great parts of judgment, of his " 'unquestionable integrity, and of his general " 'interest and reputation throughout the king- " 'dom. But with all this,' he said, 'he was not " 'fit for the office he held: that he did not un- " 'derstand the mystery of that place, nor could " 'in his nature go through with the necessary " 'obligations of it. That his bodily infirmities " 'were such, that many times he could not be " 'spoken with for two or three days, so that " 'there could be no despatch; of which every " 'body complained, and by which his business " 'suffered very much. That all men knew that " 'all the business was done by sir Philip War- " 'wick, whom, though he was a very honest " 'man, he did not think fit to be treasurer; " 'which he was to all effects, the treasurer him- " 'self doing nothing but signing the papers " 'which the other prepared for him, which was " 'neither for the king's honour nor his."

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" His majesty concluded, 'that he loved him " 'too well to disoblige him, and would never do " 'any thing that would not be grateful to him:

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* The earl of Southampton.

" 'but he had some reason, even from what he " 'had sometimes said to him, to think that he " 'was weary of it, and might be easily persuaded " 'to deliver up his staff, which his majesty would " 'be very glad of; and therefore he wished that " 'he, the chancellor, who was known to have " 'most interest in him, would persuade him to " 'it, in which he would do his majesty a singular " 'service."

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The chancellor " most humbly and with much " earnestness besought his majesty ' seriously to " 'reflect, what an ill savour it would have over " 'the whole kingdom, at this time of a war with " 'at least two powerful enemies abroad together, " 'of so great discontent and jealousy at home, " 'and when the court was in no great reputation " 'with the people, to remove a person the most " 'loved and reverenced by the people for his " 'most exemplary fidelity and wisdom, who had " 'deserved as much from his blessed father and " 'himself as a subject can do from his prince, a " 'nobleman of the best quality, the best allied " 'and the best beloved; to remove at such a " 'time such a person, and with such circum-" 'stances, from his councils and his trust: for " 'nobody could imagine, that, after such a mani-" 'festation of his majesty's displeasure, he would Life, vol. iii. p. 30.

" ' be again conversant in the court or in the " ' council, both which would be much less esteemed upon such an action. That many " ' with the same diseases and infirmities had " ' long executed that office, which required more " ' the strength of the mind than of the body: all " ' were obliged to attend him, and he only to " ' wait upon his majesty.

" ' That it was impossible for any man to discharge that office without a secretary: and if " ' the whole kingdom had been to have preferred " ' a secretary to him, they would have commended this gentleman to him whom he " ' trusted, who had for many years served a " ' former treasurer in the same trust, in the most " ' malignant, captious, and calumniating time " ' that hath been known, and yet without the " ' least blemish or imputation; and who, ever " ' since that time, had served his father in and to " ' the end of the war, and himself since in the " ' most secret and dangerous affairs,' (for he " had been trusted by the persons of the greatest " quality to hold intelligence with his majesty to " the time of his return;) ' so that all men rather " ' expected to have found him preferred to some " ' good place, than in the same post he had been " ' in twenty years before; which he would never " ' have undertaken under any other officer than

" 'one with whom he had much confidence, and
" 'who he knew would serve his majesty so well.
" 'Yet,' he said, 'that whoever knew them could
" 'never believe that sir Philip Warwick could
" 'govern the lord treasurer.'"

THE END.

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